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# West Europe Report

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23 April 1984

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## DEBATE OVER DANISH INVOLVEMENT IN NATO 'AGGRESSION' PLAN

## Security Committee Hits Nuclear Strategy

Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 5 Mar 84 p 1

[Article by Jorgen Dragsdahl]

[Text] The secretariat of the government's Security and Disarmament Committee (SNU) has analyzed NATO's strategic and weapons-technology plans. The committee's report presents a strong warning against the possible consequences.

If the alliance continues to emphasize aircraft and missile strikes deep in enemy territory and the introduction of new weapons systems with this capability and if the Warsaw Pact follows suit, then the consequences could be the opposite of those supposedly sought by NATO representatives, according to the report.

## Illusion

Defense Minister Hans Engell has stated that the goal of the NATO plan is to minimize the risk of nuclear war.

The SNU analysis states, however, that "hopes of raising the nuclear threshold will undoubtedly be an illusion if long-range systems are deployed on both sides. On the contrary, our dependence on nuclear weapons will increase."

The report states that "available information" indicates that the Warsaw Pact countries will procure weapons systems similar to those being considered by NATO. As a result, "It must be assumed that deep strikes will occur in Western Europe as well as in Warsaw Pact territory. The tempo and intensity of battle will place almost as much stress on the crisis leadership as a nuclear war and, thus, it would be extremely difficult to prevent an early escalation to nuclear war."

The report also states: "The highly effective long-range conventional weapons systems, like nuclear weapons, could create pressure toward a massive preemptive strike. Consequently, the significance of nuclear escalation and nuclear retaliation in the Western strategy could become far greater than it is today. The fear of a surprise attack probably would increase on both sides,

with further tension and continued arms buildup as the result."

#### No Criticism

The secretariat's examination of military trends comprises one chapter in the SNU annual report, which presumably will be published in May. The article was presented at a recent SNU meeting in which politicians, researchers, and representatives of government institutions participated. No objections were made to the article, as far as INFORMATION was able to determine.

Previously, summaries included in the annual report were presented under the name of the chairmanship, but this year it was decided that the SNU secretariat, which consists of specialists in security policy, would be responsible for the wording. Annual reports presented by the chairman often sparked divisive debates, since allowances had to be made for all views.

The secretariat examined all the documents and ideas presented to NATO by the American side and discussed the skepticism these proposals met on the part of the Europeans. It is stated that the NATO authorities have not approved a strategy of deep strikes in the opponent's territory, but that "further investigation" had been called for at the political and official level.

Some critics of NATO have pointed out that some recommendations imply that the American forces would develop the capability of capturing territory in the Eastern countries during a conflict by means of offensive ground operations.

The secretariat stated, however, that operations on Warsaw Pact territory "can hardly be called a new development and that there probably is no movement away from the concept that any possible aggressor must face the risk of being attacked on his own territory." Counterattack is in "full conformity" with the existing strategy: the flexible response.

#### Colonel's Charges Backed

Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 5 Mar 84 p 1

[Editorial: "Offensive Air Castles"]

[Text] Seldom has a debater damaged his own cause more than Col Helge Kroon who, in MILITAERT TIDSSKRIFT, stressed the offensive aspects of the strategic plans now being considered by NATO. The colonel wanted friends of the military to initiate an information campaign to win support for the new strategy of the alliance. So far, however, he has only managed to give the extreme left a flying start in its anti-NATO campaign. The VS (Left-Socialist Party) newspaper SOLIDARITET had every reason to thank the colonel for publicizing the plans of the alliance.

Maj Michael Clemmesen's articles in INFORMATION last Wednesday and Friday will not create the same sensation. He called Kroon's new offensive strategy a "castle in the air," that "almost conceals reality." The offensive aspects of

the alliance's proposed plans are "simply a necessary part of preventing attack and, as such, they are actually defensive." Clemmesen said there was "no present need" to revise NATO's strategy which is "extremely broad." This is also the position taken by Defense Minister Hans Engell in several brief statements which point out, primarily, that no new strategy designed to replace the present strategy has been presented to the governments of the alliance.

Kroon's description of an "offensive advanced defense" resembles the picture of NATO presented by the opponents of the Western alliance, so that the impression given by the statements of Clemmesen and Engell is that they are lame excuses. The NATO missile project was a step toward more offensive power, since the 572 missiles represent a new threat to Soviet territory and the Pershing II, in particular, seems well suited for use in a surprise attack. In the area of strategic arms, the development of MX missiles and other weapons systems by the United States seems to be another step that is primarily offensive in nature.

Objective conclusions are difficult for several reasons. It is not reassuring to hear the defense minister deny that there is any reason for concern. The fact is that experts in the alliance have long discussed a new generation of weapons systems and worked with changes in the operative doctrines of NATO. So far the Danish government has not commented on these plans, nor has it informed parliament about them. Thus, the impression given is that Denmark has no policy in this area and that the government does not care whether or not changes are made that could damage the defensive image of NATO. This attitude makes it impossible for parliament and public opinion to influence developments that could have a serious impact on the military and political situation in Europe.

The considerations are so complex that the strategy that the strategy instructor (Clemmesen) can give a reassuring interpretation while, at the same time, other qualified observers express serious concern. To be sure, security policy matters have become part of the public domain in recent years, but the military deterrence of war and the fighting of a conflict are still subjects that demand expertise and are based on pure fantasy. As a result, anyone can find experts to support their preconceived ideas.

In addition, the debate is not simplified by the use of ambiguous expressions and misleading explanations. The word "offensive" is an example of this. It is possible to maintain, as does Clemmesen, that a military organization that fails to consider offensive activities once war has broken out simply is not doing its job, since the aggressor can be weakened by a counterattack, for example against reinforcements. It can also be claimed, however, that this offensive capacity can be used to start a war. It is unsatisfactory to counter this argument by saying that, so far, the activities of the alliance have revealed no such designs. These activities could change in the future.

It is also misleading to maintain that a stronger conventional defense would make nuclear war less probable. Nuclear weapons play a key role even in the present plans of the alliance and, during a conventional conflict, it is

possible that the other side could use nuclear weapons first. This danger is especially acute since the West refuses to sign any agreement renouncing the first use of nuclear weapons and to back up such an agreement with concrete measures (such as nuclear-free zones) that would remove nuclear weapons from possible theaters of war.

We are still in the initial phase of a debate that undoubtedly will lead to changes in the military organization of the Western alliance. In this initial phase, there is good reason for skepticism when officials try to pour oil on the troubled waters. The politicians and the public became involved in the NATO missile project so late that it became a matter of prestige for the alliance to proceed with deployment, despite numerous solid arguments against deployment. Consequently, dangerous aspects of plans now being considered by the alliance should be dealt with at an early stage. This is true because, otherwise, these plans can be carried out and because public support for the alliance could hardly survive another debate in which NATO decisions are forced through despite widespread skepticism. After the missile affair, distrust is so deep that even positive changes in NATO's strategy may be misunderstood and opposed.

At the present time it is disturbing that, even if Clemmesen is correct in saying that present plans being considered by NATO do not reflect offensive or aggressive tendencies, the new weapons and doctrines of greater maneuverability in the military still create problems for crisis management. The Warsaw Pact already has a strategy that is primarily offensive in nature and is building up its offensive capabilities. This does not necessarily reflect aggressive or expansionistic intentions. Perhaps they simply do not want to fight a defensive war on their own territory and see a buildup of forces as the best deterrent in the light of the "aggressive intentions of imperialism." But if both sides build up their forces to an offensive potential, the serious threat arises that one side could misinterpret the intentions of the other and decide to strike first.

Prime Minister, Jorgensen Duel

Copenhagen AKTUEL in Danish 13 Mar 84 p 24

[Article by Soren Nielsen]

[Text] Frederikshavn--"No municipal or county employees will be laid off as a result of compulsory cutbacks by the government."

Prime Minister Poul Schluter gave this guarantee in Frederikshavn yesterday during a political duel with former Prime Minister Anker Jorgensen at the technical institute.

Anker Jorgensen sharply criticized interference in municipal economies.

"This is much too harsh and, along with other cuts in municipal budgets, it will lead to 35,000 layoffs."

Poul Schluter called this statement "regrettable" and an attempt to "frighten" the people.

"The municipalities have an unexpectedly high level of liquidity, due to the economic upswing. We and the municipalities are absorbing this liquidity in order to maintain taxes and services at their present level. This will have no effect on employment in the public sector."

Much of the debate dealt with foreign policy in general and NATO in particular.

"If Denmark's voice is to be heard abroad, it must have the support of the Social Democrats," Poul Schluter said.

Anker Jorgensen said that only the issue of nuclear weapons divided the government and the Social Democrats.

"We have not renounced NATO solidarity simply because we want to relax tensions. The government will soon share this position with the Social Democrats. I am convinced of this," Anker Jorgensen said.

Poul Schluter stressed that a nuclear-free zone must be negotiated between the Soviet Union on one side and NATO on the other.

"If Denmark rejects NATO's nuclear strategy, it will have an effect on Denmark in case of war."

On the unemployment issue, Anker Jorgensen said that the next Social Democratic government would work toward shortening the work week.

"Unless such steps are taken, unemployment will increase during the nineties, as well."

#### Submarine Fleet Commander Comments

Copenhagen AKTUEL in Danish 16 Mar 84 p 10

[Article by P. B. Nielsen]

[Text] In various media appearances, member of parliament Knud Damgaard has stated that the Social Democrats now advocate a defensive military system. And how does this differ from the defense system we have today? Simply in that our submarines will be replaced by trucks with missiles because, according to Damgaard, they are easier to conceal and much less expensive and because the military is purchasing several air defense missile systems.

That seems to be a minor change in our defense system to be given such a bombastic headline as "Social Democrats Want Defensive Military." The truth of the matter is that we already have a defense system that is defensive in its entire structure. But it seems that Damgaard has failed to understand this. If this is true, it is not the only thing Damgaard has failed to

understand. The arguments he has presented in the defense debate indicate that he is suffering from a shortage of information. After all, he is not speaking against his own better judgment! Damgaard obviously understands his own importance since, when asked by the journal STAMPERSOENEL who actually determined Denmark's defense policy today, he answered: "I do." There is not doubt that the Social Democrats now hold a key position with regard to our defense policy, but we must hope that Damgaard does not really speak for the party on this issue. That would be disgraceful to the Social Democrats and deprecate our defense.

Damgaard apparently refuses to listen to the established and recognized foreign and domestic expertise in technological development and other areas. Instead, he has based his decisions on an individual person--a major who undoubtedly is well informed, but whose conclusions are contrary to those of recognized experts. Take as an example the detection of submarines. Damgaard postulates that within a short time technology will produce devices that can carefully track the movement of submarines in the Baltic Sea, thereby eliminating their present advantages. Damgaard's conclusion is that Denmark should not procure any new submarines. That would be a "catastrophically poor investment." This conclusion is based on totally erroneous premises. The experts admit that research is being done on the use of lasers to detect submarines, but the technical and practical problems resulting from the natural laws involved are so great that this technology remains in the distant future. In addition, there is a considerable period between the time when a prototype is completed and when the devices are installed in enough ships and planes to make a decisive difference. Thus, there are no indications that submarines will lose their considerable superiority in the Baltic Sea in the near future. Damgaard also failed to notice that both West Germany and Sweden are investing heavily in their Baltic Sea submarine fleets because they believe in their ability to survive and they understand their strength.

Another example of Damgaard's lack of information is his position on land-based missiles. Damgaard believes that Harpoon missiles should be placed on trucks and moved up and down the coast, where they would be far less vulnerable than ships and submarines. This sounds like an attractive plan, for it is easy to conceal a truck, but the fact is that a missile battery is not simply a truck with missiles, but includes a fleet of vehicles with auxiliary equipment and personnel. Damgaard should visit one of the air force's Hawk missile batteries to get some idea of the magnitude of such a "small, handy, and inexpensive" weapons system.

Damgaard should give some thought to the old maxim, "offense is the best defense." The Danish defense must retain some offensive weapons so that we are not forced to fight at the initiative and under the conditions of the enemy. The better able we are to fight the enemy outside our own land territory, for example in the Baltic Sea, the more of our own land and population will be spared!

## Budtz Explains Security Views

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 17 Mar 84 p 6

[Article by Lasse Budtz, SDP Member of Parliament]

[Text] There is little chance that former general and former Conservative member of parliament Erik Kragh and I will ever agree on security policy. This was made clear by the general in the article he directed at me in BERLINGSKE TIDENDE on 8 March. I am emphasizing our disagreement here only to point out how difficult it will be to restore the so-called broad unity in parliament behind Denmark's foreign policy.

The general's article is based on the premise that the West should have the military superiority to frighten the Soviet Union. I would prefer an approximate balance, since the desire of the two superpowers to gain superiority accelerates the arms race and foments tension.

The results of the policies advocated by General Kragh (in his own peculiar way) are that the arms buildup has never been more extensive than it is today and that there has never before been so much money spent on weapons--without creating security. Uncertainty and fear have increased. This is the point of the matter, General Kragh.

General Kragh correctly points to the Soviet nuclear arms buildup, but he forgets the simple fact that it was the United States that started the nuclear arms race. The general has not forgotten that the West still has the largest navy, but he is angry because the Soviet Union is closing the gap.

Of course, this can be expected from a militarist, but the reason for his anger is that he wants the West to have a permanent and absolute advantage. But this unnecessary advantage could make the Soviet Union even more aggressive. What both sides should do, of course, is to begin making cuts.

The Soviet advantage in conventional weapons in Europe, particularly in Central Europe, is undeniable, but if the West decides to close this gap after already having sufficient nuclear weapons (which we do indeed have according to the American president), does this not increase the danger that the Soviet Union will start a war in which nuclear weapons are involved?

In any case, it is reasonable to ask the question--so reasonable, in fact, that Western experts are asking it and the topic is discussed in one of SNU's upcoming publications.

It has escaped the general's attention that the conditions of the dual decision have totally changed since December 1979. In the meantime, there has been a significant arms buildup that has totally changed the security picture. The negotiating process has not been utilized to the fullest--neither with respect to the time spent in negotiations nor to examining the consequences of the various proposals.

Apparently, the general seriously considers the use of tactical nuclear weapons, as do the military planners at NATO. This means that these wise gentlemen believe in the possibility of a limited nuclear war. I do not.

But even if all the tactical nuclear weapons are removed, which I would like to see, the United States, not to mention England and France, still would be capable of launching their own nontactical nuclear weapons against an advancing enemy with conventional superiority. This possibility has totally escaped the general--perhaps because he has forgotten about it or perhaps because he has wanted to forget.

The general expressed his deep mistrust for pacts, which may be justified from an historical standpoint. But he has unlimited faith in the NATO Pact. I share this faith with him, but I would like to give other pacts a chance, as well--for example a pact establishing a nuclear-free Nordic zone. Why is the general fundamentally opposed to this, if he is absolutely sure that the NATO Pact will work? I believe I know the answer, but I would like to stress that some risk is involved in any pact. This always has been true.

We all understand why General Kragh believes in General Rodgers. It is more remarkable, however, that he believes in a certain French journalist. This would not be because that journalist reported something concerning the Social Democratic security policy in Denmark that could irritate the French government, would it? No, you must forgive me. That is really too simple, too one-sided, and too unoriginal.

Obviously, we must use all available means to insure that nuclear weapons are never used. This is best done by trying to eliminate some of them or by preventing them from being deployed--for example in the Nordic countries. Advocating the deployment of more nuclear weapons will not prevent their use. On the contrary, this increases the uncertainty and the danger of a mistake.

Finally, I must express regret over the fact that our efforts toward peace elicit such incredibly impersonal, sometimes outright insolent, reactions from the right wing. Why are they always so suspicious? After all, our motives are just as pure as those of the general.

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## LEGAL SYSTEM, HOW-TO MANUALS, POLITICIANS AID SQUATTER VIOLENCE

Paris AUTRES MONDES in French 16 Jan 84 pp 3-7

[Text] After the symbolic squats in the 1970's by extreme-left organizations such as Red Assistance (Secours Rouge) or the Proletarian Left (Gauche Proletarienne), the beginning of the 1980's witnessed the development of the squats in France, particularly in Paris. It was a sufficiently serious problem for the Paris City Hall publication to devote a major article to it in October 1983.

A few words to put the subject in context: "Currently, some 180 buildings are illegally occupied in the capital. The phenomenon was not dealt with adequately by the evictions resumed last year following the summer's criminal incidents, since the squatters almost immediately occupied other areas, necessarily causing the departure of regular occupants."

The phenomenon is based on one reality: the increasing number of empty dwellings. QUE CHOISIR magazine, in its September 1983 issue, estimated at 10 percent the total number of empty Paris apartment houses, based on French Electric Company records. The two major causes seem to be, on the one hand, the so-called "Quilliot laws" on rentals, and, on the other, the leniency of the courts with respect to the squatters. The Paris mayoralty publication states: "The phenomenon did not really develop, as the statistics demonstrate, until after 1981." This view is confirmed by the squatters' own assertion: "France was in the worst shape. There is a lack of political movement that could make appropriation of areas a central theme."(1) They were reviving the struggle of the squatters in the 19th century with the Commune, and George Cochon. In April 1913, the latter had invaded the Paris town hall with several thousand homeless people and taken over the Madeleine church. He then founded the national and international federation of renters.(2)

#### Legislation

Squatters are accustomed to pulling all the "strings" of legislation. "Legal stalls" have been set up in several squats. Earlier, they based their case

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1. Quotation from "No Man's Land," "Vilins at Cascade: A Critical Evaluation," dated June 1982 but in fact appeared in summer 1983.

2. Reported at length in "Research Note" No 3, new series, January 1983.

on two documents relating to "requisition of vacant dwellings." Subsequently, they have been using the law.

On 15 December, the minister of interior provided a response on "requisition" in the JOURNAL OFFICIEL: "There is a procedure for direct requisition of living quarters that are vacant, unoccupied, or insufficiently occupied that is based on articles L641 to L641-14 and R641 to R641-25 of the Code of Construction and Urban Planning. The only persons qualified to benefit from these provisions are, on the one hand, persons without housing or housed in clearly inadequate conditions, and, on the other, persons against whom a legal eviction order has been issued. It is explained, in this connection, that this does not refer to direct assignment of housing, which only the appropriate authority, the commissioner of the Republic, is qualified to do."

In May 1983, following the burning of a transit center for worker immigrants, private buildings were requisitioned in Colombes. Also, L'HUMANITE DIMANCHE of 19 January 1977 reported, for example, that the municipality of Arcueil (Democratic Union) had requisitioned housing for the benefit of "poorly housed" families in some 15 apartments belonging to the European Breweries Association.

This procedure being restrictive but, it should be noted, applicable to "insufficiently occupied premises," several manuals--some published beginning in 1977\*--supplied techniques for entering these premises. There follow some quotations from the "Squatter's Practical Pocket Manual" published in February 1983. There are five consecutive chapters.

"How to find a dwelling to occupy": "Find a dwelling that has been empty for more than 6 months." Some squatters give priority choice to buildings that are the property of real estate companies, administrations or municipalities, and avoid private homes.

"How to start a squat": "The occupation is not a crime if it is carried out without breaking in. Thus you must find a door open when you arrive. (Another guide explains: "Afterward, obviously, you will find the door open," and publishes alongside a drawing of a carpenter's claw). The first few hours are the longest. After 48 hours the owner can no longer evict you." Some clever people send mail to the address before actually occupying it (the postmark serving as proof of occupation).

"Above all, close your doors and change the locks. Immediately have the electricity, gas and even the telephone connected.

"No one can evict you without judicial process."

The manual continues with three chapters devoted to "How to prepare your defense," "How to speak at the trial," and "How to resist eviction." This last chapter draws attention to the "judicial winter" period between 15 November and 1 March when any eviction is prohibited.

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\* "Encounters" group. Excerpts from ALTERNATIVES No 5, second quarter, 1978.

The very recent eviction on 23 December by the Paris Police intervention force of a squat in Rue des Dunes, 19th District, was based on the principle that the occupants had arrived only the previous day.

#### Associations

One of the most frequently used techniques after 2 days of occupation is the association system. Portrayed as "experimental establishments," these squats will have an average of 12 associations per building. The idea is to provide social explanations rather than individual names to the bailiff who shows up. In fact, under French law a moral person (an association) cannot be treated as a physical person (an individual). If an eviction order is issued against one association, then another--composed of the same individuals--will at the same time occupy the premises.

This thorny problem was raised in an internal note of the Paris public prosecutor's department dated 14 January 1983: "The prosecutor of the Republic points out that the judicial reaction must be based, depending on the circumstance, as follows: a penal solution when it is a matter of individual cases, and a civil solution when it is a collective phenomenon. However, the penal measures ultimately adopted must not result in a disguised eviction, which could constitute a genuine violation of procedure."\*

Among these associations we could note the following:

CALVA (Local Action Committee for Association Life);

CHER (Housing and Renovation Committee);

CAFE (Evolutionary Role Promotion Center), which in this case was really a bar;

CRISE (Renovation, Initiation, Services and Maintenance Collective), a genuine renovation enterprise operating illegally;

MEUFS (Speed Feminist Unification Experimental Movement);

NAPAP (New People's Academy of Plastic Arts), whose name is related to the Armed Groups for Proletarian Autonomy, active in the 1960's;

ENA (The School Belongs To Us);

GARPS (Psychiatric and Social Promotion and Research Group);

GIRO-PHARE, located in a squat in Rue Giraud;

"On Leaving School" (nursery recess) at the same address, etc.

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\* Note published in "AINSI SQUATTENT-ILS," No 1, August 1983.

### Renovator-Occupants

A number of these associations disguise themselves under the title "renovator-occupants." In their magazine AINSI SQUATTENT-ILS, they explain their approach: "The right to housing is recognized in the Constitution; yet we do not have the means to rent."

Their first operation took place in September 1981, in Rue de Crimée, with the CASA and CHER associations. Using the law, the CIAO, another of their associations, did not hesitate to lodge a complaint of violation of domicile (which ended up, at the IGS [expansion unknown] level, with suspension of the investigation) when the police entered their premises in Rue Giraud on 30 July 1982. The "renovator-occupants" lodged several complaints against the mayor of Paris.

Included on the lists of Paris-Ecologie, they received more than 4 percent in March 1983.

### Political Support

These "renovator-occupants" receive a variety of support. First, an element of the press, then "struggle" organizations, and finally political parties.

In addition to LIBERATION, which has devoted several major, favorable articles to them, and even LE POINT,\* the "renovator-occupants" publish several papers and journals:

AINSI SQUATTENT-ILS, "paper born of the struggle of the houses occupied in the 19th district," obviously without providing the names of the printer, editor and chairman of the publication.

AVIS DE RECHERCHE, whose third issue was devoted entirely to the squats.

VA MOURIR L'ARMEE, "bulletin of antimilitarist liaison," edited "by the initiative of the team of renovator-occupants of the 19th district." The manager of the publication is Frederic Joyeux, a "renovator-occupant" and former manager of the paper AVIS DE RECHERCHE.

In liaison with the CAIC (Objection Insubordination Antimilitarist Collective) located in a squat, the SOC (Secretariat of Conscientious Objectors), the CAP (Prison Justice Action Committee), an extensive campaign is conducted against the army.

In VA MOURIR L'ARMEE, the action of Jean-Pierre Mouminous is reviewed at length. It gives an overall picture of the destabilization actions conducted out of the squats. "Clandestine organizer of the paper AVIS DE RECHERCHE from 1979 to 1981, participant in the spectacular sabotage action at the Socialist Party congress in Valence on 25 October 1981, main organizer of the

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\* LE POINT, No 529, 8 November 1982. "Squatters in Paris: the Guerrilla of the White Collars."

'Noncompliants Rock' concert in Paris on 10 November 1981, and organizer of the 'renovator-occupants' of the 19th district." His lawyers are Messrs Verges and Auerbacher, known for their extreme-leftist sympathies.

Several "respectable" associations have not hesitated to give their support to the "renovator-occupants." At the time of the 25 November 1983 evictions, the "Federal Consumers Union" (UFC-Paris) issued a communique giving "its full support to the evicted squats and even to those evicted in the future." According to the UFC, "Parisian associations need quarters at affordable rates to be able to continue their activities."

Likewise, the General Housing Confederation (CGL), which is close to the Socialist Party and of which several representatives were on the scene on the day of the eviction, "unreservedly" supports the evicted squatters. In the words of its president, Alain Raillart: "Our action is limited to requesting allocations to rehouse families in distress, but we support the action of the associative squatters, which is aimed in the same direction."

In addition to the support of the Unified Socialist Party (PSU), expressed by its secretary general, Serge Depaquit, several Socialist deputies have also given their support to the squatters, in embarrassed style. For example, Jean-Paul Planchou expressed regret that the municipality had not "really taken into consideration the cultural and social aspirations of the evicted associations."

Also, official approval of the squats has come from higher up:

--Questioned by LIBERATION on 23 December, one of the squat leaders, Vaima, explained: "We were not alone. The Ministry of Culture even continued to give subsidies to some of our groups. Even better: one might have thought there was a kind of trigger release."

--Several colleagues of Roger Quilliot, when he was housing minister, arranged meetings with the "renovator-occupants."\*

--On 9 December 1983, at the very moment that the squatters were undressing in front of the La Joconde painting in the Louvre, Jean-Pierre Michel, the Socialist deputy, was questioning Mme Huguette Bouchardieu about the future of the squats. In addition to the fact of Jean-Pierre Michel giving his support to the squatters, describing the "initiatives as interesting," the response of the secretary of state was revealing (she answered on behalf of Jack Lang, who was absent): "Among the many associations, the one called 'Giraud-Phare' has received a total of 30,000 francs in aid from the Ministry of Culture as part of a recent project of the cultural activities fund. It should also be pointed out that the Aleph theater company, which has been subsidized regularly for several years by the theater board of the Ministry of Culture, had also chosen to locate on Rue Leon Giraud."

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\* LE POINT, No 529, 8 November 1982. "Squatters in Paris: the Guerrilla of the White Collars."

In addition, a subsidy of at least 54,000 francs was granted to the same squat in 1982.

--A final point: the "Urban Sax" musical group, which was living in the squat on Rue Leon Giraud, played at the last Elysee Christmas.

One of the squatters let the cat out of the bag to LE MONDE of 28 November 1983: "I joined the Socialist Party last week to avoid eviction."

#### Squats of Violence

In addition to these so-called "associative" squats--already a hypocrisy--there are two other types.

On the one hand, immigrant workers, and, on the other, those of the extreme-left.

According to the Paris City Hall, 80 percent of the squatters "have no other objective but to live at no cost in Paris. These people are most often foreign nationals, of whom the majority entered France illegally. Thus we find that 50 percent are Africans, 16 percent from the West Indies, and 10 percent from the Maghreb, and only 14 percent are Europeans, the majority of them French."

As the Paris City Hall notes, "These squats seem to provide a privileged area for development of medium, or even major, crime: prostitution and centers for trafficking and use of drugs."

They have become havens for crime and centers for drug sales in Paris. LE MONDE of 14 May 1982 gave a description of one of them at 173 Rue de Flandres: There is a "single entry" to this "veritable fortified camp, composed of five four-story buildings." Along the "high enclosing wall there are four or five sentries, alert watchers, some of whom are wearing the broad, knitted red, orange, and green beret, the colors of the Ethiopian flag, by which the Rastas can be recognized."

When this squat was evicted on 7 July 1983, the police counted more than 600 West Indians and Africans. They found stocks of cocaine, hashish and heroin. In this quarter, an area 200 meters square, six deaths from overdose were recorded in a month.

Finally, extreme-left political violence latched onto these squats. First, "Direct Action," which used them as a fallback base. On 25 October 1983 the trial began of Mehmet Unsalam, a Turkish worker who was a member of Dev-Sol, a Turkish terrorist organization. He had been arrested on 27 January 1982 with other "Direct Action" members after violent incidents against police in the squats of the Goutte d'Or. Sentenced to 13 months' prison in default because he was released in April 1982 and thereafter disappeared, he received clemency from the judge, who said that he would like to sentence the real instigators of the cited actions, Jean-Marc Rouillan and Nathalie Menigon, the "Direct Action" leaders.

In their domain is developing an uncontrolled but solidly established band of fringe types, independents, and libertarian anarchists. A brochure titled "No Man's Land" gives some indications about this group through the credits on the first page: "We thank in particular Radio Libertaire, the Friends of Solidarnosc,\* the People of Vireux, Tony O'Hara, brother of a dead hunger striker at Long Kesch, the VISA association, and "passport for export," etc.

VISA is an association located in Montreal that published the brochure "Passport for Export," the "Androidia Flux" music cassettes, posters under the title "Thanacia Graphis," and that has a "Collective Action: the relentless division."

Their publications are normally printed without the name of the author in a very leftist printing establishment, Edit 71 (21 Rue d'Annam), and distributed by the following bookshops: Paralleles (Rue Saint-Honore), Le Chaos Final (Rue des Diamants), and Publico (Rue Amelot) in Paris.

This marginal but strongly organized group has been behind numerous acts of violence throughout France. This suggests significant resources. They reviewed these in issue No 4 of their internal publication titled LES FOSSOYEURS DU VIEUX MONDE [Destroyers of the Old World]. This 104-page publication, on glossy paper, contains very numerous documents such as tracts, clippings from papers, photos, even plans, and is a perfect manual for the urban guerrilla. For example, it contains the detailed plans of the Zup of Minguettes, near Lyons, the squats of the 19th district, or Brixton in the United Kingdom, where violent racial riots took place.

Violence that is exalted has no other justification than a fringe outlook: "We openly camp as enemies at the gates of the major cities, and even sometimes inside them." The brochure "No Man's Land" explains: "The others, those who have not yet understood, can go to hell, nobody gives a damn about them."

This group has provided its support, its technique, and scraps of political theory to several insurgent groups. The details given (dates, names) are sufficiently accurate to show that this is not a made-up account. They participated in various "hot summers" in the Minguettes. In particular, they were responsible for the tract "There Will Be Blood" (portrayed by Mr Hernu as an extreme-right provocation), which read: "Let us burn still more cars to the health of the imprisoned rodeo-cowboys." They burned the car of one of the lawyers defending the "rodeo-cowboys." "Mrs Sauveyre submitted to the base scheme of the judicial authorities: the slanderer kept quiet about the motives of the police, and in exchange the judges granted her some reductions." They also created the slogan: "A good cop is a dead cop," and in a tract published

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\* The libertarian anarchist movement supports Solidarnosc. It is credited with an attack on the Paris-Warsaw train on 10 November 1982. "No Man's Land" reprinted the tract distributed at Gare du Nord, as well as a major interview with Vladimir Borisov of the SMOT (Soviet Free Trade Union). In the Rue des Cascades squat, a banner summed up their view: "Let us plant the red banner of the Commune in the belly of the Stalinist butchers; arms for the Polish resistance in the face of state capitalism."

in Lyons at the end of February 1982 entitled "Game Over" there was a postscript: "It would be good if the address of the pig who testified against Selim (one of the NDA rioters) was widely known..."

They also made an appearance in Chooz and Vireux. They participated in burning the chateau of La Buchere in July 1982, after having extensively infiltrated the "Vireux Will Live" committee of the steel workers of Chiers. They established themselves in the squats in summer 1982, particularly in Rue de l'Est. They were evicted from these on 21 October 1982, after several days of pitched battle with the police. As one policemen confided\*: "This eviction was the toughest in which I have ever been involved. A real Fort Chabrol." Later, they sacked on 25 October 1982, in the name of the "Honor of the Populace" group, the apartment of the City of Paris urban planning director, Pierre-Yves Ligen.

The building they occupied in Rue de l'Est did not at all have the appearance of an abandoned warehouse. "It had more or less decent living conditions: elevator, intercom, telephone, wall-to-wall carpet, several bathrooms, and a large terrace with open view of Paris. We were living in apartments intended for staff personnel, just as the youth of Lyons East took their luxury cars. Our impunity was a particularly insolent affront to the cops and local elected officials, who demanded our departure. In addition to many burnings of big cars that lit up the night of the 20th district from spring to winter 1982, several enemy headquarters were burned (a local Communist Party office, a Rally for the Republic (RPR) office, and a fine model apartment in a building of Cogedim-NDA)."

In September 1982, this group flooded Paris with posters signed "Situationists" and titled "To Eliminate the Housing Issue." "The fortification work resumed in fine style. We seized on site and in a few construction yards the needed materials: doors, steel plates, fencing, extinguishers, etc. All the exits were strongly armored."

Several times the police struck at the armored doors, but withdrew under clouds of carbon gas, Molotov cocktails and scrapmetal. "On the 16th, the Republican Security Companies (CRS) tried to enter by way of the building's elevator cage: but we welded the door. An entrance facing the street was walled in. A system of extension ladders was organized. Other occupants left in terror: their apartments were taken immediately."

These lengthy quotations show that this is a trained group ready to go into action again. At a time when unemployment is growing, and the fringe phenomenon is increasing, it constitutes an organizational base for an explosion of social violence. In their brochure "Expedition of no Return," its members explain their objective: "We unemployed for life not only do not enrich the state, we cost it money. What separated men is beginning to unite them. At a time when the supermarkets can no longer tolerate such widespread

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\* LE MATIN, 22 October 1982.

simple shelf theft, the proletarian youth are no longer satisfied with that and are converting to high-speed operation. From an isolated and sporadic resumption, we are progressing to robbery in organized and equipped bands in broad daylight. They want us to be either the prey of the factory or the prey of the prison: and we want neither. We scandalize, because we do not have any positive goal whose satisfaction our enemies could arrange. We are entirely negative, and that is our strength."

We are in 1984.

9920

CSO: 3519/263

## BRIEFS

PCI' OPPOSES INTERPOL AGREEMENT--At the time of the ratification by the National Assembly of the agreement between the International Organization of Criminal Police (INTERPOL) and the French Government in October 1983, Guy Ducoleene, on behalf of the Communist Party (PC), had attacked that institution. The communists wanted to limit its prerogatives as far as possible so that, as they put it, "it would not intrude in the political field." In fact, what upset the PC was the information that INTERPOL might obtain about the extremist circles in which terrorists are recruited. It thus abstained in the vote. It should be noted that the Communists' international campaign against INTERPOL is supported in France by some elements of the Socialist Party. The impressive success achieved through this organization against drug traffickers does not serve the interests of the proponents of active destabilization of the Western democracies. [Text] [Paris AUTRES MONDES in French 16 Jan 84 p 15] 9920

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## GOL ON COALITION, BUDGET, COMMUNITY PROBLEMS

Brussels LA LIBRE BELGIQUE in French 2 Mar 84 p 3

[Interview with Jean Gol, minister of justice and institutional reform, on Thursday, 1 March 1984, by G. Dz.: "Continue the Recovery Until the End of the Legislative Session"; place not given]

[Text] Minister of Justice and Institutional Reform as well as liberal Vice Prime Minister, Mr Jean Gol answered our questions Thursday noon about the political situation.

[Question] Is the government strong enough to find its second wind and to agree on a new reorganization of finances, in spite of the provocations among the partners, in spite of the community conflicts, in spite of the pre-electoral atmosphere -- even if the elections of 17 June are only European?

[Answer] In the interest of the country, the government is condemned to succeed. There is no credible alternative today to the coalition. In addition to which, to hold legislative elections and then to proceed with the formation of a government -- probably with a different coalition -- would cause the loss of many weeks and even many months, would risk the revival of community but also institutional problems, and would worsen the budget situation by tens of billions of francs with the result that it will be necessary later to proceed with financial reorganization under more difficult conditions. Furthermore, the hypothesis of the break up of the coalition and the fall of the government would undermine the confidence which a large part of public opinion has been able to have in the continuity and stability of the government work, would create very serious discouragement and would deteriorate the image of the work already accomplished: the sacrifices already made would have been in vain. All the partners should be aware of the seriousness of the stakes because the government is condemned to succeed.

## Joining Together

[Question] And yet, some people are pushing for a joining together of the European and the legislative elections on the basis of "reason," in order to have only one electoral period to disrupt the life of the government.

[Answer] I have heard none of the parties in the coalition wish for early legislative elections. On the contrary, the four parties have introduced bills in parliament aimed at making sure that the legislative session actually lasts for 4 years, as stipulated by the constitution, and that consequently the legislative elections would take place in December 1985. Which, besides, opens the prospect of the preparation of the 1985 budget and its proper implementation.

It is true that those European elections fall at a relatively bad time because, even if we avoid short circuits, they will unquestionably create an electoral atmosphere for a few weeks, which means that some people are likely to stoop to statements or initiatives which are not guided by the interest of the recovery in progress but rather by purely electoral interests. This may corrupt the climate but the government will also have to face that difficulty.

If unfortunately a crisis were to arise -- and I don't wish that! -- then good sense would dictate that the voters not be summoned twice and thus that the European and the legislative elections be joined together.

Answer to Mr Deprez

[Question] During an interview with LA LIBRE BELGIQUE, Mr Deprez asked: "Name one social proposal made by the PRL [Liberal Reform Party (Walloon)]." The president of the PSC [Social Christian Party (Walloon)] also said that the real bipolarization was being played out between the PSC and the PRL. What is your reaction to this?

[Answer] The only French speaking minister with real social authority is the minister of social affairs of the French Community since a large number of the irrelevant issues have become community centered today. And it is a liberal, Mr Monfils, who has accomplished important work in this area. It cannot be said that the French speaking liberal ministers -- like the social Christian ministers as a matter of fact -- did not want to provide protection for the most impoverished through the measures taken by the government.

But I will not stop there because the method used by Mr Deprez is at the same time detrimental to the government, to the coalition and the party which uses such techniques with regard to its partners. As a matter of fact, the government program was developed by the various coalition groups; the ministers deliberate collegially about all the important questions and especially the special powers decrees. The task of the government is a collective task and public opinion in fact sees it that way.

If one considers one's partner as not very efficient, then why govern with him and why say that it is the best coalition and that one is ready to repeat it?

Mr Deprez is making a fundamental error of judgement concerning the public's assessment of the government. He admits that the government works better than the preceding governments. Now, what differentiates it from the previous ones is certainly not the presence of the social Christians because the social Christians have been present in all the governments since 1958. That is a significant liberal burden.

The exercise Mr Deprez indulges in resembles somewhat the exercise of someone who would like to convince people that when you have two mixed drinks, on the one hand a Campari and orange juice and on the other hand a vodka and orange juice, it is because of the orange juice that the taste of the mixture is different!...

#### Conclave

[Question] Next Friday you will begin the "decisive" negotiations on financial reorganization, budgetary control, and the 3 year plan. Up to what point can the liberal family go too far?

[Answer] Everyone is aware of the scope of the budgetary choices to be made, even if we have already achieved substantial results in our fight against the deficit, which has been reduced from 13 to 11.5 percent of the CNP. But this is still very inadequate and this situation weighs heavily on our international credibility and on our currency, and keeps us from having the necessary room to maneuver to achieve a recovery. Hence, an effort is essential.

In any case, we must absorb the 50 billion francs or so necessary to bring us down to the objective set for 1984, that is to say to a deficit of 507 billion francs (11.5 percent of the GNP). The budgetary effort must also be strengthened as of now, in order to go beyond the objective originally set, and this to give a second wind to the government action and to restore our credibility with national and international financial observers. This effort is a considerable one, but I will not put any figures on it and I will not set a deadline or an agenda: we have entered so many government conclaves with carelessly set objectives, only to emerge from them with achievements which were rather removed from the objectives... What is required is to make possible that which is necessary, and to do what is necessary with the means at our disposal.

#### Four Constraints

[Question] That is to say what?

[Answer] We have set four constraints for ourselves:

1. It is out of the question to allow the most spectacular government achievement, that is to say the recovery of the competitiveness of the enterprises, to deteriorate at the very time when the situation is beginning to deteriorate and when our neighbors are encouraging their enterprises with new aid while reducing their inflation rates. Hence, we will have to take new measures. The most directly imperative matter is to achieve the essential moderation of all costs, direct and indirect wages but also financial and social costs.

2. One must take into account the budget as it is and the activity of the state as it is. In the traditional departments, such as the Ministries of the Interior, of Justice, of Foreign Affairs, the possibilities of savings have become extremely small if not dangerous, because one should not stop the heart of the state. Ideas such as the one to close four embassies, would lead us into the vicious circle of decline: we would be a little less present in the

world, we would sell somewhat fewer products, we would have fewer opportunities for contacts and thus for business. It is not with cheeseparing economies of this type that we will achieve a financial reorganization to the extent that it must be done. It is the social and economic transfers which must be tackled because with the passing years the state has neglected its traditional functions and stopped doing well what it has to do in order to become a vast redistribution counter. We could propose more than 100 billion francs in savings in the area of social security, the budget of which (1,200 billion francs) keeps growing. We have to stop the hemorrhage and once again question a certain number of mechanisms which have been allowed to get out of hand during the period of prosperity.

3. This operation must take place within the framework of social justice, and the most impoverished people must be spared both in terms of the social plan and the moderation plan. Furthermore, one cannot make those sacrifices without offering the prospect of recovery of economic activity and of employment. I have no objection to the broad ideas presented in the last few days by Messrs Maystadt and Spitaels: we must practice selective recovery through concerted operations of economic recovery and I don't quite see where one could fit an ideological quarrel in this.

4. At the risk of denying the whole philosophy this government is based on and at the risk of definitively discouraging the citizens, it is not possible to imagine that this financial operation will be solved by the easy solution which consists of finding new resources via direct or indirect taxation. For us, this virtually represents a condition sine qua non for the continuation of the government action.

#### Community Sword of Damocles

[Question] There are still uncertainties at the community level...

[Answer] The government cannot start such an important task as the second phase of its action while the sword of Damocles of the resurgence of serious linguistic difficulties hangs over its head. I don't consider the postponement of the debate on the Gable proposal as a solution to the problem. It is a gesture of appeasement but it is not a solution, because decrees from the Council of State may arise whose nature, even though they originate from within a jurisdiction, are such as to create serious political difficulties and to threaten the very existence of the government. Hence, it is necessary for the government and the parliamentary majority to protect themselves against such accidental risks. You will not hear the minister of justice challenge the principle according to which the judgements issued by the courts and tribunals and the Council of State must be respected by the citizens. It is the foundation of the rule of law. But the politicians should make sure that judicial decisions which might have political consequences they don't want, can be avoided. It goes without saying that this cannot be done through pressure -- which is obviously unacceptable -- on the judicial institutions. One must have recourse to the means available to the Executive and to the legislature -- the political power --, that is to say the norms. The difficulty for the French speakers is that judgements which may occur in individual cases concerning the French speaking representatives with special language status, are rendered by the unilingual chambers of the Council of State which makes

these decisions suspect in the eyes of French speaking public opinion. Furthermore, there has been a certain evolution in the jurisprudence of the Council of State with regard to its own jurisprudence and to that of the permanent commission of language control: the supervision of the legal actions taken by the representatives has gradually shifted to supervision of the person of the representatives (specifically their knowledge in terms of language). It should be possible to develop a solution which would make it possible to guarantee against all accidents and thus to allow the government, whose primary goal it is, to give priority until the end of the legislative session to economic and financial recovery. It will also be necessary for all the coalition partners to commit themselves firmly this time, not to take new initiatives of an institutional or linguistic order without the agreement of the four majority groups, and this until the end of the legislative session.

[Question] What is the opinion of the minister of institutional reforms about the decision made by the prime minister, who declared unacceptable the appeal made by Community Minister Moureaux to the Consultative Committee concerning the decision of Minister of Social Affairs Dehaene to have the governor of Brabant convene the CPAS [Public Center for Social Aid] of Wezembeek?

[Answer] I have requested an explanation because I did not, among other things, see the letter written by Mr Dehaene to the governor. It is obvious that if Minister Dehaene has ordered the governor to carry out a certain act, then his political responsibility is committed. Basically, the main point is that it would be unacceptable for the CPAS to be able to start working and carrying out any legal action as long as it is not completed. This would be a denial of the principle of respect for universal suffrage.

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CSO: 3619/47

## GOALS, ORGANIZATION OF INUIT ATAQATIGIT DESCRIBED

Oslo KLASSEKAMPEN in Norwegian 16 Feb 84 p 17

Article by Hans Husum: "Greenland Protests"

Text Inuit Ataqatigit

--is a freedom movement in Greenland

--has a fairly broad political front with about 30 local groups spread all over Greenland

--was founded at the Assivik rally in the summer of 1976

--arranges Assivik rallies every summer with 300-500 participants (Greenland has a population of 50,000) to discuss the Greenlandic freedom fight

--ran for election in 1981, 1983 and December 1984 and has two representatives in the Greenlandic Landsting; has among other things the chairman position on the board for tax cases and the board for culture and school issues

--a campaign is constantly waged against them on the radio and in the Danish newspaper for being troublemakers and potential terrorists.

There is certainly great animosity towards the Danes, even here in Upernivik where we haven't seen so many of them. It started an uprising among the young Greenlanders. But much general education is necessary if we are going to get further than knocking the teeth out of a few Danes. And it is here that Inuit Ataqatigit faces a big task, Christian Mattaeussen, member of IA in Upernivik, says.

Just recently there was an election in Greenland. The Inuits shall graciously be able to choose two representatives to the Danish Folketing. The two big parties Atassut (conservative) and Siumut (social democratic) each got as usually their own. Christian is satisfied with the election for IA, about 13.7 percent of the votes on a national basis, not one single residence where IA received one vote at any rate.

"You have to remember that we got the telephone here in Upernivik only four years ago. As in so many other places we have no steady TV connection. Some newspapers are published once a week, but they don't make anyone wiser. It is therefore good when we in important fishing and industrial cities like Nuuk (Godthab), Aasiaat (Egedesminde), Uummannaq, Paamiut (Fredrikshap) and Nanortalik receive from 14 to 22 percent of the votes. We got few votes in the rural districts and the small neighborhoods, where Atassut traditionally is strong. They are isolated places and people know very little about us. We become optimistic when a little place like Tasiursaq, just a little north of us, gives Inuit Ataqatigut over 20 percent of the votes."

#### Strong Hunting Tradition

"All of the Greenlandic culture, language and way of thinking is built on the hunting tradition," Christian says. If we lose this tradition, we lose much of the basis for an independent Greenland. Fifty percent of all seal fur which the Royal Greenlandic Commerce (KGH) sells in Copenhagen, are caught in the Upernivik district. But the KGH monopoly has their hand in all the parts of the production: The furs are sent to Copenhagen for appraisal, then to Qaqortoq (Julianehap) for preparing, and then maybe back to Copenhagen once more before the final preparation in Qaqortog. So the fur changes hands many times and a lot of profit has to be divided into many pockets. Here in Upernivik I may get perhaps 200 kroner from KGH if I deliver a first-rate fur. Behind the 200 kroner is perhaps two weeks work.

"IA therefore wants that production-plants for fur and seal meat be built along the entire coast. The hunters themselves could control the production plants where Greenlandic women could also be employed to produce ready-made fur products. Then the gains from the furs would end up with those who have a right to it--the hunting families. As a matter of fact it is difficult to live off the salary of a hunter, especially if nature retreats."

#### Home Rule--Goal or Means?

Question "Next year the Greenlandic government takes over the production part of KGH, and you are saying that is good. But the Danes will still be in control?"

Answer "Yes, we will not get rid of the blessed Danes before we can place our own experts there instead. It is a long way to go for sure. It is first now that we can make the conditions favourable for the Greenlandic youth. From next year onward Inuit will be the main language in the Greenlandic school. And Danish will only be an elective subject along with the foreign languages. The fight for a good education will always be very important for us.

So we can say that the system of home rule has made it easier for us to make the conditions right for full emancipation. Today the hunters at Innarsuit have scraped their own pocketbooks to set up their own production plants for seals, and Innarsuit has become a strong and good place to live. Next year we can perhaps get funds for a plant in Kullorsuaq from the home rule cash funds. But what will become of the home rule organization is totally dependent on

those who govern it. Within IA we discuss our relationship to Siumut (social democrats). Atassut for sure, but Siumut as well stands with one foot in the King's Copenhagen and one foot planted amidst the Greenlandic hunters. That doesn't work, and all talk by such politicians will be shown for what it is the more informed and critical the youth becomes. With a strong Inuit Ataqatigitt I believe the home rule organization can become a station on the way to full emancipation."

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CSO: 3639/80

## BERLIN TURKS POLLED ON NATURALIZATION

## Integration Preferred to Naturalization

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 6 Mar 84 p 8

[Article: "Desire for Integration Growing: Poll Among Turks in Berlin: Against Fundamentalism"]

[Excerpts] Berlin, 5 March--An opinion poll among Turks in Berlin has revealed that Turks are becoming increasingly oriented towards German society, especially the younger generation. Barbara John, the Senate representative for foreigners, said on Monday that the poll shows in many individual examples "that the intent to integrate as well as the desire for communication with the German population are on the rise among Turks." The opinion expressed from time to time that Turkish families do not want to integrate turns out to be a prejudice, she said.

On the question concerning the most important advantages to German citizenship, the political right to vote was named first, followed by better opportunities on the job market. Nearly half of those questioned fear in accepting German citizenship a lack of understanding by relatives and acquaintances in Turkey, and in many cases by relatives and acquaintances in Germany as well.

According to the poll, a large number of Turks also have a "distanced attitude" towards Islamic fundamentalism; 84 percent of Turkish fathers agree with the Berlin Senate, which intends to give Moslem organizations the opportunity to offer religious instruction in the schools. Only 10 percent prefer extracurricular Koran school.

To the question concerning what should be done specifically for Turks living in Germany and what is most lacking for them, the answer was: reduction of unemployment, initiatives combatting discrimination against foreigners, as well as a desire for better housing and more contact with Germans. More than half of the Turks questioned are of the opinion that only a small portion of Germans are hostile to foreigners. To the question concerning how long one wanted to stay in Germany, 83 percent could give no clear answer. Prerequisites for returning home were--in this order--"if I can be self-supporting," "when I have saved enough," "when the children's education is finished."

### Traditional Male Dominance Evident

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 6 Mar 84 p 1

[Article by Birgit-Ingeborg Loff: "Turks Want Integration, But Not Citizenship: Desire for More Contact With German Citizens: Improvement Scarcely Hoped for Through German Passport: Poll for Berlin Senate"]

[Excerpt] Berlin, 5 March--Younger Turks in particular would indeed like to have more contact with Germans and are increasingly oriented to German society; however, only one out of five Turkish men under the age of 40 would accept German citizenship if this were possible without any problems. These are the findings of a poll made public Monday by the Berlin Senate representative for foreigners. Among older Turks only one in ten has this goal.

A number of Turks refuse the change because it does not promise an improvement in their personal situation. "I believe that I would then be seen as German just as little as before," those questioned justified their lack of interest. Another response: "If I have a German passport, I nevertheless remain a Turk."

One-third of those interviewed did not give a response to the question concerning the most important advantages of a German passport. The others named most commonly the political right to vote (43 percent), better opportunities on the job market (26 percent), freedom of movement in choosing a place of residence and work (19 percent) and protection from deportation (18 percent).

On the other hand, nearly half of the Turks fear that relatives and acquaintances in Turkey would not understand the change in citizenship. One-fourth believe that such a step would also alienate relatives living in West Berlin or West Germany. The question "Imagine that you had a daughter of legal age who did not want to return with you to Turkey--would you respect this wish?" was answered in the negative by two-thirds of the men. Half of those interviewed would reject such a decision by a son of legal age. However, 60 percent of young Turks between the age of 18 and 24 want to recognize freedom of choice for the son, and 40 percent for the daughter as well.

The public opinion research institute Emnid interviewed 1,000 Turkish men at the end of last year on behalf of the Berlin Senate. There is "a dogma of only speaking to men" among public opinion institutes, Barbara John (CDU), representative for foreigners, explained. It is recommended, she said, that such studies be limited to men, since it is awkward in Turkish families to pass by the head of the family in favor of the woman.

However, the female students working on the poll reported, according to the representative for foreigners, "that the women spoke up freely and were disappointed that there was no desire to hear their opinions." There is a plan for next time, she said, to include Turkish women in the poll concerning mood, interests and needs which are also held regularly among Berliners with German passports.

After the protests against the last survey of 500 Turks a year ago, questions with political content were not included this time. With around 117,000 Turkish citizens at present, West Berlin is the "largest Turkish city outside Turkey."

German Xenophobia Played Down

West Berlin TAGESSPIEGEL in German 6 Mar 84 p 13

[Article: "Twenty Percent of Turkish Youth Want German Citizenship: Most Fear Lack of Understanding in Turkey in Accepting It"]

[Excerpt] A skeptical attitude or one of hostility to foreigners by the German population with regard to the Turkish minority is indeed sensed by some of those interviewed, but 52 percent think that this attitude is limited to a small part of the population.

As was established in the first poll at the beginning of last year, the majority of those questioned could not precisely answer the question concerning the length of their stay. To the question "How long would you like to stay in Germany," 83 percent could not give a precise answer; at the beginning of last year that figure was 74 percent. The responses ranged from "if I can be self-sufficient," to "when I have saved enough" to "when the children's education is finished."

12271

CSO: 3620/218

## ORGANIZERS OF MOSCOW YOUTH FESTIVAL URGE LARGER FINNISH ROLE

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 28 Mar 84 p 10

[Text] Finnish youth organizations are being offered a visible role in the arrangements for the world youth festival to be held in Moscow this summer. Representatives of the CPSU youth organization, KMO [Soviet Youth Organizations Committee] expressed interest in the Finnish contribution in discussions engaged in at the end of the week in Helsinki.

Finland was also offered an opportunity to organize the world youth festival well over a year ago. During the political youth organization discussions held then it was demonstrated that there were no funds to organize a mammoth event. Nor did the Finnish Government want to provide guarantees of economic aid.

In the end the Soviets undertook the job of organizing the festival themselves and now they want to make their celebration as big and showy as possible.

An international organizing committee met for the first time in Havana regarding the festival. The Western youth organizations did not, however, at that time agree to endorse the call for a festival because the Soviets wanted to hog all of the arrangement chores for themselves. Finland, on the other hand, went along with the festival movement at once.

At the end of the week the KMO delegation headed by Nikolay Mukhin visited Finland. In the negotiations with their Finnish hosts, the delegates announced that Moscow had agreed to the creation of an international secretariat and hoped that the Finns would relay the message to the Western countries.

During the same discussions the Soviets deliberately hinted to the Finns that a Finnish representative would join the secretariat that was to be formed.

The organizing committee will meet in Sofia, Bulgaria, in April the next time. At that time the Western youth organizations may join them, once the confusion about the secretariat to be created has been resolved.

### Young Social Democrats Squabble

The Soviets have also voiced their desire for an event that is as broadly based as possible. The West European peace and environmental organizations have been wooed to get them to participate, even though there has been a cool reaction to them in Moscow, at least to the END [European Nuclear Disarmament] peace movement.

The youth festival is now being organized for the twelfth time. The last time the festival was held in Havana, Cuba, in 1978. In the beginning the festival tradition was solidly linked with the communist organizations. Now, the participant base of these events has noticeably expanded.

In Finland a festival society, whose ability to set things in motion has been slowed down by the internal squabbles of the young Social Democrats, is organizing the Moscow festival. The Social Democrat youth organization has not achieved a clear shot at unanimity in its nominations of candidates.

On Tuesday the Social Democrat dispute surprised people in electing a chairman for the festival society executive committee. Surprisingly, there were two candidates and they had to vote on the matter.

At first, the Social Democrat candidate for this district was the first secretary of the Helsinki University Student Union, Timo Peltovuori. At the last minute an attempt was made to replace him with Metalworkers Union official Erkki Vuorenmaa. It did not, however, succeed and Peltovuori was elected instead by a vote of 8 to 3.

On Tuesday Social Democrat youth organization chairman Matti Tukiainen said that Timo Peltovuori and Member of Parliament Arja Alho (Social Democrat), who had earlier been elected chairwoman of the festival society, do not represent the views of the young Social Democrats. Therefore, the SDP [Social Democratic Party] youth organization is deliberating as to what further action to take and, as far as is known, is also reconsidering its relationship to the festival society.

11,466  
CSO: 3617/129

## POLL MEASURES VOTER SUPPORT FOR HERMANSSON GOVERNMENT

Reykjavik MORGUNBLADID in Icelandic 11 Mar 84 p 2

[Article: "DV Poll: Government Voter Support 56.8 Percent"]

[Text] Twenty-Six Percent Took No Position

Of the people polled in the DV [DAGBLADID/VISIR] survey, 76.8 percent support the government and 23.2 percent are against it. Yesterday, DV published the conclusions of its survey conducted last weekend. According to the paper, 600 people were interviewed. Half of the people polled were from the Reykjavik metropolitan area and half were from the provinces. Half of the people polled were women.

In the sample, 56.8 percent said they supported the government; 17.2 percent said they were against the government; 21.5 percent were undecided and 4.5 percent did not want to answer the paper's questions. According to this, the government support has increased from the time DV conducted a survey last October. Then 48.8 percent said they supported the government; 27.7 percent were against it; 20.7 percent were undecided and 3.5 percent did not want to answer the DV question about their stand on the government.

9583

CSO: 3626/19

## COALITION PARTIES POST GAINS IN OPINION POLL

Reykjavik MORGUNBLADID in Icelandic 14 Mar 84 p 2

[Article: "DV Poll: Increased Support for Government Parties"]

[Text] The support for the government parties, the Independence Party and the Progressive Party, has increased according to a survey DAGBLADID/VISIR conducted and published yesterday. Of the 600 people polled, 34 percent said they were undecided and 11.2 percent did not answer the paper's question about their position on the government parties.

The conclusion is that 5.2 percent said they supported the Social Democratic Party; 9.3 percent supported the Progressive Party; 28 percent supported the Independence Party; 8.2 percent supported the People's Alliance, 1.5 percent supported the Social Democratic Alliance and 2.7 percent supported the Women's Slate. If only those who took a position are counted, then 9.4 percent supported the Social Democratic Party; 17.0 percent supported the People's Alliance; 2.7 percent supported the Social Democratic Alliance, 4.9 percent supported the Women's Slate and 51.1 percent supported the Independence Party.

9583  
CSO: 3626/19

## POLL ON POPULARITY OF CABINET, MINISTERS, TAXES

Amsterdam DE TIJD in Dutch 16 Mar 84 pp 8-10

Report by Gerard Driehuis: "Political Barometer; CDA (Christian Democratic Appeal) and VVD (People's Party for Freedom and Democracy) Following: Don't Touch the Benefits."

Text The Lubbers Cabinet has become even less popular, even among its own following. As of 1 July, benefits should not be decreased, also in the opinion of VVD and CDA voters. Moreover, Joop den Uyl [Labor Party] is still getting high scores from his own voters. This is the second TIJD/Interview political barometer on the popularity of the cabinet and the main actors and, to be sure, on the increasing size and role of the group of voters who don't know what to do any longer.

There is a strange paradox in voters' evaluation of the various politicians and parties. Fact one: the already low popularity of the cabinet has decreased even further. Fact two: the government parties are doing better than has been the case for many months. However, these two opposing facts apparently can be explained through fact three: the behavior of the undecided voters.

Twenty seven percent of those eligible to vote have no idea which party they would vote for if elections were to take place right now. That is already 2 percent more than at the time of the first TIJD/Interview poll. That group is so sizeable that inquiries into voting behavior such as that of the Rooie Haan [political cafe] give less and less insight into the outcome of elections. The fact is that those inquiries do not consider the opinion of those interviewed who have not (yet) made a choice. That group is so large, due to decreasing involvement, that its voting behavior is of decisive importance.

This month's poll does not leave much intact of the established opinion that the left, and in particular the PvdA [Labor Party], has an interest in a high election turnout. The popularity of the cabinet is greater with the group of voters who have not yet chosen a party than with the average voter and, moreover, it has increased considerable compared to last month's poll.

The change in the following of the political leaders is just as noteworthy. For all leaders who have ties with the coalition, it is a fact that their following has

decreased among their own voters but has drastically increased among undecided voters. That group is about as large as that of the VVD and CDA together. That difference is even greater for Bert de Vries. It increases by 7 points among those who have not yet made a choice.

Just as noteworthy is the rapidly decreased popularity of Ed Nijpels among CDA and VVD voters. But that too is compensated for by an increase among undecided voters. In contrast to what the TROS [Television-Radio Broadcasting Corporation] inquiry suggested about the succession of Joop den Uyl, Den Uyl appears to score very well among voters in his own party, PvdA--better than Bert de Vries with CDA voters or Ed Nijpels with VVD voters.

Maarten Engwirda indeed does not seem to have "it" yet. The number of voters who don't have any opinion on Engwirda has even risen from the extremely high 51 percent of last month to 54 percent. For Den Uyl and Lubbers that is far below 10 percent. The non-recognition score of Bert de Vries has decreased from 31 to 25 percent.

#### Benefits

Benefits must not decrease. One of these days the cabinet has to decide on the 1 July package. Then benefits will almost certainly have to make another considerable contribution again, partly thanks to a very clever game of Minister of Social Affairs Jan de Koning (see page 6). And if it is up to Minister Ruding [Finance], there will be another 3 billion guilder economization on benefits as of 1 January. Unjustly, according to the large majority of those interviewed, including most of the CDA and VVD voters. A majority is even willing to pay for that view.

However, in that respect also the largest part of the group of undecided voters appears to be on the side of the cabinet. And that will increasingly become the job of Lubbers: how to win the sympathizing group of undecided voters over to the government parties. If that were to succeed, a CDA/VVD majority might possibly surface again.

Table A. The Popularity of the Cabinet.

<b>Welk waarderingscijfer geeft u het kabinet-Lubbers? (1)</b>				
(2)	PvdA	CDA	VVD	(3) nog geen partijkeus bepaald
5.43 (5.75)	4.41 (4.88)	6.92 (7.14)	6.6 (6.97)	5.67 (5.45)
(4)				

De tussen haakjes geplaatste cijfers betreffen de uitslagen van vorige maand (De Tijd van 17 februari). De uitsplitsingen geven alleen de cijfers van de grote partijen en de groep 'nog onbepaald': klein links en klein rechts moeten buiten beschouwing blijven vanwege hun in statistisch opzicht te geringe omvang.

#### Key:

1. What score do you give the Lubbers Cabinet? [on a scale from 0 to 10]
2. Everyone.
3. Party choice as yet undecided.
4. The figures placed in parentheses show last month's results (DE TIJD of 17 Feb). The divisions give only the figures of the large parties and the "as yet undecided" group; the small left and right cannot be considered here due to their statistically too-small size.

Table B: Benefits Should Not Decrease; Higher Taxes Preferred Instead.

(1)  
**De regering overweegt per 1 juli de uitkeringen te verlagen.  
 Bent u het met dit plan eens of niet?**

	(2) allen	PvdA	CDA	VVD
(3) eens	15%	1%	29%	33%
(4) maakt niet uit	6%	4%	8%	9%
(5) oneens	75%	95%	61%	57%
(6) weet niet	4%	0%	3%	2%

(7)  
**Zou u bereid zijn meer belasting of premie te gaan betalen  
 om aantasting van de uitkeringen te voorkomen?**

	(2) allen	PvdA	CDA	VVD	(8) geen partijkeus	(9) uitkeringen omlaag (10)eens (11)oneens	
(12) ja	50%	60%	57%	49%	38%	40%	53%
(13) nee	38%	28%	32%	45%	46%	46%	36%
(14) weet niet	13%	12%	11%	7%	16%	14%	11%

Key:

1. The government is considering decreasing benefits as of 1 July. Do you agree with this plan or not?
2. Everyone.
3. Agree.
4. Makes no difference.
5. Disagree.
6. Don't know.
7. Would you be willing to pay more taxes or premiums in order to prevent a decrease in benefits?
8. No party choice.
9. Benefits to decrease
10. Agree.
11. Disagree.
12. Yes.
13. No.
14. Don't know.

For the umpteenth time, the amount of benefits are up for discussion this week. In order to round out the economization package of 1 July, people will in any event have to let go of something with respect to benefits. But do Dutchers agree with that? Is there no other solution? The poll makes it clear that a large majority (75 percent) do not agree with the plans. Perhaps that is not too surprising, but it is moreover clear that a majority is willing to go along with an alternative and pay for keeping benefits at the current level. Even 40 percent of those who agree with a decrease in benefits are prepared to prevent such a decrease through higher taxes and premiums.

The cabinet and especially the minister of finance keep saying that taxes are much too high. But on whose behalf are they actually saying that?

Table C.

<b>(1) Welk waarderingscijfer geeft u aan de minister-president en de fractievoorzitters van de vier grootste partijen?</b>					
	(2) allen	PvdA	CDA	VVD	(3) nog geen partijkeus bepaald
(4) percentage der geënquêteerden	100	24,3	15,4	12,3	26,8
Ruud Lubbers	<b>6</b>	<b>4.9 (4.9)</b>	<b>7.9 (8.2)</b>	<b>7.1 (7.4)</b>	<b>5.9 (5.7)</b>
Joop den Uyl	<b>5.8</b>	<b>7.5 (7.6)</b>	<b>4.7 (4.5)</b>	<b>4.3 (4.6)</b>	<b>5.7 (6.0)</b>
Bert de Vries	<b>5.4</b>	<b>4.5 (4.8)</b>	<b>6.6 (6.8)</b>	<b>5.7 (6.2)</b>	<b>5.7 (5.0)</b>
Ed Nijpels	<b>5.3</b>	<b>4.0 (4.2)</b>	<b>6.0 (6.6)</b>	<b>7.4 (7.6)</b>	<b>5.4 (5.2)</b>
Maarten Engwirda	<b>5.2</b>	<b>5.1 (5.3)</b>	<b>5.5 (5.6)</b>	<b>5.1 (5.4)</b>	<b>5.2 (5.1)</b>

Key:

1. What score do you give the prime minister and the parliamentary group chair persons of the four largest parties?
2. Everyone.
3. Party choice undecided.
4. Percentage of interviewees.

Table D: The Most Conspicuous Minister of the Month.

	(1) attentie index	(2) attentie score
Lubbers	<b>310</b> (393)	<b>+49</b> (-23)
Ruding	<b>228</b> ( 52)	<b>-35</b> (+73)
Smit-Kroes	<b>151</b> ( 48)	<b>-13</b> (-86)
Deetman	<b>143</b> (203)	<b>+55</b> (-66)
v.d. Broek	<b>135</b> ( 97)	<b>+55</b> (+50)
Brinkman	<b>104</b> (259)	<b>-58</b> ( +9)
Rietkerk	<b>99</b> ( 31)	<b>-89</b> (+33)
Korthals	<b>71</b> ( 17)	<b>-62</b> (-71)
De Koning	<b>60</b> ( 72)	<b>- 9</b> (-71)
Schoo	<b>36</b> ( 21)	<b>- 8</b> ( 0)
De Ruiter	<b>22</b> ( 17)	<b>-50</b> (+20)
Braks	<b>22</b> (107)	<b>-50</b> (+35)
Van Aardenne	<b>11</b> ( 62)	<b>-75</b> (-33)
Winsemius	<b>8</b> ( 17)	<b>-33</b> (-20)

Key:

1. Attention index.
2. Attention score.

Which minister is the most conspicuous? Is that in a positive or negative context? Neelie Smit-Kroes [transport and public works] only needs to open an elevated bridge for truckdrivers and her star rises greatly. H. Onno Ruding [Finance] only has to ask for an additional 3 billion guilders and the Netherlands knows him again. And in reverse: as soon as the shrimp are edible again, Minister Braks [Agriculture] is almost forgotten again. The topicality of the past weeks can easily be seen in the shifts in the list of ministers. Political fame is temporary, but its absence sometimes is permanent; as to Minister Winsemius [Housing, Planning & Environmental Protection], only his family seems to know that he exists.

The question of whether one of the ministers had been conspicuous was answered by 540 interviewees. Divided over 14 ministers, that is an average of 36 per minister. The minister mentioned 36 times thus gets an attention index of 100 percent; he is neatly sticking to the average. Those mentioned more often go higher than 100; those mentioned less than 36 times fall below 100 in the attention score.

The attention score indicates whether the minister was usually noticed in a positive or negative sense by the interviewees. Of the 14 ministers, 12 score primarily in a negative sense, with Minister Rietkerk [Home Affairs] as the negative front runner. Only Lubbers [Prime Minister] and Van den Broek [Foreign Affairs] were conspicuous in the positive sense.

The TIJD/Interview barometer is held monthly among 1000 interviewees, in order to get a highly dependable result. For example, when the table states that 75 percent of those questioned are opposed to a decrease in benefits, it is certain that between 72.5 and 77.5 percent of the Dutch population have that opinion. The poll was held in the week of 6-10 March. The tables have been divided into the three large parties. Percentages found in other parties were not reported because the margin of error is too great there.

8700  
CSO: 3614/64

## LABOR PERCEIVES MIDDLE PARTIES DISCONTEST WITH WILLOCH

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 5 Mar 84 p 4

/Editorial: "They're Stirring" /

/Text/ The honeymoon seems to be over for the middle parties. From one annual congress after the other in the county parties come strong demands for reorganization of the policies of the three-party government. It is, of course, the current situation on the job market which is primarily causing the rank-and-file members to react.

But it also relates to the departure situation which many counties and municipalities find themselves in economically. The reactions are natural and understandable. They are essentially provoked by the insensitivity of Conservative cabinet ministers to bleak unemployment figures and the equally provocative silence from the middle parties' own cabinet ministers.

Finance Minister Rolf Presthus must have an unusually poor sense of direction when he constantly proclaims that "the Government is on the right path." It is not just the opposition which has difficulty understanding how we can be on the right path as long as the unemployment figures continuously rise and we constantly receive reports about economically critical conditions in the municipal economy. We would think that such statements hit home even harder for the middle parties' followers. They are not just under pressure from the nearby and menacing reality in the municipalities; they are also forced to make common cause with and preferably defend government cooperation. There is no way that the situation which the two party chairmen, Kjell Magne Bondevik and Johan J. Jakobsen, have gotten their party adherents involved in could be called pleasurable.

What point the frustration has reached was recently demonstrated in Hedmark County. Ole E. Storlien, the Center Party's group leader in the Hedmark county administration, took the dramatic step of proposing a gathering of the government parties' county politicians into a common front in order to penetrate the Government's unwillingness to listen to the demands from municipalities and counties. The counties' loss of income affects every single family, he said, and found no possibility other than such a joint non-socialist action for getting through to the Government.

We would think that Storlien's frustration was not diminished by the response of his party chairman to this initiative. Johan J. Jakobsen found no reason to interpret what happened as any kind of expression of lack of confidence in the Government's policies, but offered the opinion that the group leader in Hedmark was primarily interested in gaining better contact with the Government. Jakobsen had no opinion on whether money could come out of such a proposal.

Now the chairmen and the cabinet ministers from the Christian Democratic Party and the Center Party could probably have had hope for riding out the reactions to the parties' ground plan if it had been a matter of isolated episodes and reactions of a few members. But that is not the way it is. From annual congress after annual congress in the two parties come nearly identical demands for changes in the economic policy. The resolutions from the two parties' annual county congress bear witness to an irritation which has long been suppressed, but which it is no longer possible to keep within the party walls. The rank-and-file members and key representatives on the county and municipal level reveal not just "impatience" with the Government's policies, the way Jakobsen would like to interpret it. The middle parties' ground plan has obviously received enough hot air, and demands action.

1232/  
CSO: 3639/91

## MINISTER DEFENDS WILLOCH GOVERNMENT'S 'PRIVATIZATION' POLICIES

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 13 Mar 84 p 3

Unsigned article: "Gjertsen on Privatization Debate: Inflexible Labor Party Rejects Everything New"

Text It is discouraging that the Labor Party has become so inflexible and dogmatic that it will not even map out which public/governmental tasks can best be solved in cooperation with the private sector, declared Astrid Gjertsen, minister of consumer affairs and administration, in a lecture in Steinkjer yesterday. She asserted that the Government will never undertake anything which is at odds with acceptable welfare goals, and that no one will disturb the primary role of government health services and social care, for example. The proposal of Ivar Leveraas last weekend she labeled fabrication.

The assumption for our work with the privatization question is that we will continue to develop and sustain the welfare state, the cabinet minister stressed. She reminded the audience that this welfare state is assured through teamwork between private and public operations. Against this background the Ministry of Consumer Affairs and Administration has asked the other ministries to evaluate to what extent some tasks can be carried out better in collaboration with the private sector.

This and nothing but this is what is implied by the so-called privatization note, a note which, in the opinion of cabinet minister Gjertsen, has made leading Labor Party politicians behave "almost in a Soviet manner." They reject every new idea. They even refuse to investigate whether something can be done differently. Instead they pretend the welfare state is threatened, the cabinet minister remarked.

She pointed out that the Willoch government takes very seriously the approaches to problems which are related to deficient public resources and weakened possibilities for management. The government wishes to throw light on alternatives and possibilities we have. But what is the Labor Party's answer to these challenges, asks Gjertsen.

In the first place, they will have nothing to do with studies which can show whether privatization in individual fields may be favorable or detrimental. As everyone knows, it is pleasant not to have to be confused by new

facts, the cabinet minister said. And in order to avoid sticking to the subject in hand the leading opposition politicians have decided that they will call this an attack on the welfare state, she concluded. The result is vehement attacks on proposals no one has made and on a policy no one wants. The most recent person to come out with this fabrication was Party Secretary Ivar Leveraas over the weekend, said Gjertsen.

The cabinet minister pointed out, in addition, that the ideas in the so-called privatization note are not new. The need to investigate when private services can supplement public ones--and if the division of labor between private and public operations is the best--was also considered by the government of Harlem Brundtland. Without, to be sure, being able to praise this Labor government and earlier ones for having done more than talk about the matter, she added.

I can assure you that the Government, in contrast to the Labor Party, will be unprejudiced, undogmatic and down-to-earth, Astrid Gjertsen went on to say. The government cannot disclaim responsibility for solving the tasks in a sound manner, she emphasized. The cabinet minister then listed what one wishes to look more closely at when privatization is evaluated. In the first place, if this is an economic gain for society. In the second place, if district policies and other important social considerations can be taken care of better. Third, whether this can give us back more for each krone. And fourth, whether this will give us simpler public administration.

Gjertsen also brought up an example of successful privatization which has recently been implemented in the management of the ministry. It concerns decentralization of governmental purchases. Last year we received approval from the Parliament to shut down the State's purchasing headquarters--and work on the reorganization is going much faster than thought. As early as 1 April of this year, state institutions within the Oslo area will purchase office supplies through local dealers, and beginning 1 July comparable arrangements will also be valid outside Oslo. Privatization is no more mystical than something like this. But it is impossible to get such rational and sensible changes implemented if we are not even allowed to investigate when the possibilities are at hand, the Minister of Consumer Affairs and Administration pointed out.

12327  
CSO: 3639/91

POLITICAL

NORWAY

BRIEFS

SOLIDARITY WITH NICARAGUA PLEDGED--The Solidarity Council for Central America, which consists of 20 nation-wide organizations, parties and trade unions, insists, in a statement, that increased support must be given to Nicaragua in the present session of the Storting. The organization states that there is a majority in the Storting in favor of such a demand and asks the government to draw the correct conclusions from that fact. (Norwegian Telegraph Bureau). [Text] [Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 22 Mar 84 p 35] 9266

YOUTH GROUPS TO VISIT NICARAGUA--A Norwegian youth delegation with a broadly-based membership having representatives from Unge Hoyre [the Young Right], Sosialistisk Ungdom [Socialist Youth], Norsk Studentunion [the Norwegian Student Union], Metodistkirkens Ungdomsforbund [the Youth Association of the Methodist Church] and Noreg's Ungdomslag [Norway's Youth Group], among others, is to go to Nicaragua in June 1984 on a study tour. [Text] [Olso AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 23 Mar 84 p 3] 9266

CSO: 3639/94

## CONSERVATIVES, SOCIAL DEMOCRATS CLASH OVER SECURITY POLICY

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 21 Mar 84 p 6

[Commentary by Sven Svensson: "To Rub the Right Way or the Wrong Way--That Is the Question"]

[Text] For the first time since 1958, the Social Democrats and the three non-socialist parties have agreed on the level of defense appropriations--and in the middle of a 5-year period at that. This is a striking paradox because unity has been achieved at a time when disunity on the issue of Swedish security policy is greater than ever.

In the wake of the submarine intrusions, the main issue in Swedish security policy is whether the Soviet Union should be rubbed the right way or the wrong way. The Social Democrats advocate rubbing it the right way with a resumption of exchanges of visits. The Conservatives support the "wrong way" approach with strong criticism primarily of Olof Palme. The confrontation between the two extremes in Swedish politics has led to no end of clashes in which the names of Bahr, Bildt, Ferm, and Arbatov are lined up like beacons.

The explanation for the antagonisms lies in the difference in viewpoints concerning the role of the military in security policy.

The Social Democrats feel that a small country like Sweden cannot simply arm itself for peace, while the Conservatives claim that an arms buildup is a guarantee of peace.

With the best will in the world, one cannot say that the Social Democratic defense policy has been firm and consistent recently:

To begin with, when they were in the opposition, the Social Democrats voted against the JAS fighter plane, but then, as the party in power, the Social Democrats voted for the JAS.

And second, once they were back in the government, the Social Democrats trimmed an annual amount of 100 million kronor from the defense budget. A year later, the Social Democrats want to increase the defense budget by 600 million kronor per year.

## Many Twists and Turns

It took a long time and many other twists and turns before the Social Democrats and nonsocialists could agree on defense--despite the background accompaniment of the submarine hunt in Karlskrona.

The Social Democrats did not make things simple for themselves, either. First, Olof Palme linked the increase in the defense budget to an increase in aid to developing countries, which had previously been cut back in the name of "consistency."

Olof Palme says it was natural to link the two together. That is probably true. The linkage was a condition for preventing the disarmament wing of the Social Democratic Party from revolting against higher defense appropriations.

But there was another motive in the background. Olof Palme wanted to use the linkage to take the temperature of nonsocialist solidarity and test the leadership qualities of Conservative Party leader Ulf Adelsohn. The Conservatives want to reduce aid to developing countries.

Splitting the nonsocialist parties and coming to terms with the Center Party has become something of a Social Democratic article of faith. But it reflects nostalgia for the 1950's more than it does political realism in the 1980's.

The nonsocialist parties responded quite simply by sticking together more closely than expected. This was certainly due to the experience of the "miraculous night" in connection with taxes. Falldin did not want to make up with the Social Democrats and give the Conservatives the chance to reap the benefit in the next election campaign.

Moreover, Palme himself helped unite the nonsocialist parties. The first offer of 1.2 billion kronor to compensate for the high dollar rate was absolutely too low.

All that remained for the nonsocialists was to slam the door and leave it to the Social Democrats to cope with the financing and face the future discomfort of closing down regiments and air wings.

The talks collapsed twice, and on both occasions it was Olof Palme himself who had to take the initiative in getting them started again.

And in the end, the agreement on defense wound up providing approximately 2.2 billion kronor, which was what the middle parties had wanted from the start.

Thorbjorn Falldin strongly approved of the fact that time after time, he appeared as the real statesman, while Olof Palme and Ulf Adelsohn, at least to some extent, were forced to dance to his tune. And Liberal Party leader Bengt Westerberg also handled himself quite well in his baptism by fire in top-level politics.

The final result was that the Social Democrats had to accept an increase of 1 billion kronor, and the Conservatives had to accept a 1-billion-kronor decrease.

It reminds one of Solomon.

As a matter of fact, the defense negotiations scarcely constitute a recommendation for the Social Democrats, but Conservative Party leader Ulf Adelsohn probably fared worse than anyone.

#### Confrontation

Even more than previously, the defense negotiations turned the spotlight on the tension within the Conservative Party. A group of young Conservatives wants a confrontation with the Social Democrats at all costs on the subject of security policy, and Adelsohn must try to calm those youngsters.

The outcome of the defense negotiations is proof that Ulf Adelsohn values non-socialist unity as being more important than simply winning points from Palme in a debate.

A nonsocialist split over Swedish defense policy would mean major risks for the Conservative Party as the 1985 election approaches, and it would probably destroy for good Ulf Adelsohn's chances for standing out as the rallying figure for the nonsocialists. That is no doubt the reason why Olof Palme's major attack on Ulf Adelsohn failed despite the protests by young Conservatives and SVENSKA DAGBLADET against the agreement on defense.

11798  
CSO: 3650/157

## BRIEFS

PARLIAMENTARIANS SPLIT ON VIETNAM--Parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee has failed to agree on this fall's study trip to Southeast Asia. The committee's socialist members will go to Vietnam under a nonsocialist chairman, and the nonsocialist members will go to Malaysia under a Social Democratic chairman. Half of the Foreign Affairs Committee will set out on the study trip around the end of August or the beginning of September. The delegation as a group will first travel to Sri Lanka, where, among other things, it will take a look at the big Kotmale power plant project, to which Sweden is contributing money. From there it will go to Singapore. The delegation will eventually split up. Headed by Sture Korpas of the Center Party, Social Democrats and Communists will visit Hanoi to look at hospitals and other Swedish aid projects, among them the Bai Bank papermill. Conservatives Carl Bildt and Margaretha af Ugglas in particular have opposed the visit to Vietnam. The nonsocialist members, headed by committee chairman Stig Alemyr (Social Democrat), will visit Malaysia. There they will look at economic development and discuss the political situation in Southeast Asia. The two groups will then rejoin each other in Bangkok. But the travel plans will first have to be submitted to Parliament's steering committee for approval. [By Sven Svensson] [Text] [Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 21 Mar 84 p 6] 11798

COMMUNIST CHAIRMAN ON DEFENSE OUTLAYS--Children need the clover going to the generals. That is what Lars Werner, chairman of the Left Party-Communists, said following the defense agreement between the government and the nonsocialist parties. Werner said: "The Swedish Armed Forces have become so dependent on the United States that changes in the dollar rate directly influence Sweden's defense and security policy. For all those who have let themselves be taken in by the talk about Sweden's image in weapons procurement, that ought to provide food for thought. It is unreasonable that the military sector should be guaranteed 700 million kronor per year at the same time that the government is holding tight when it comes to increased aid for families with children." [Text] [Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 16 Mar 84 p 6] 11798

CSO: 3650/152

## STATUS OF SOVIET PRISONERS CAPTURED IN AFGHAN WAR

Geneva JOURNAL DE GENEVE in French 3/4 Mar 84 p 9

[Article by Antoine Bosshard: "Humanitarian Law. The Zugerberg Soviets; the Swiss Are Stirred up"]

[Text] Things are now clear; the Soviets captured by Afghan guerrillas will be able to choose not to go home on 28 May. But various factors have made the public believe there was nothing to it.

"The contracting high-ranking parties will make every effort, at the end of hostilities or of the occupation, to ensure the return of all internees to their last place of residence, or to facilitate their repatriation." A mixture of solemnity and practical concern, that small article (Art 134 of the Third Geneva Convention) is causing a great deal of ink to flow in Swiss landernau [translation unknown]. The cause of the scandal: the question of what is to be the fate, at the end of their internement next 27 May, of the nine Soviet prisoners of war captured by Afghan guerrillas and interned at Zugerberg, above Zug. Will they or will they not have the right to ask to be allowed to remain in the West? Or will they be bound by commitments made by Bern and the CICR [International Committee of the Red Cross] to repatriate them in the USSR? That is the heart of the whole dilemma.

Although much of the rumor amounts to nothing or is grossly misunderstood, the fact is that the matter is nonetheless clear. Questioned by a member of the National Council, Valentin Oehen, and worried, the Federal Council a year ago--on 16 February 1983--replied without a shadow of equivocation, "All operations are based on the principle of free consent." In other words, the Soviet prisoners freely chose imprisonment in Switzerland and thus, it is being said, they will be free to decide where they are to reside once their internement is completed.

What then is the source of all the agitation that surrounds the internements? From a network of facts that are not easy to sort out.

## Internement, a "Montage" of International Law

In the first place, the internement operation (which is not exactly the same thing as imprisonment) has long been a provision of the Geneva Conventions, which devote no less than 56 articles to it. Internement consists of ensuring the transfer of prisoners of war--as many as agree to it--to a nation that is not engaged in the conflict. In this case it is Switzerland, but it could be any other nonbelligerent nation. The duration will generally be for the duration of the war or the occupation. In this case it was set at 2 years. The operation, however, requires the consent of several parties: the state (or the armed movement) that captured the prisoner; the state of which the prisoner is a national; the host state; the CICR; and sometimes the state through which the prisoner or prisoners of war must pass in transit.

The Zugerberg internees, who were captured by Afghan guerrillas, have been the subject of interminable negotiations in which the following were involved, independently: the CICR; the USSR; the Afghan liberation movements; Pakistan; and Switzerland. The International Committee came to an agreement with each of them in succession.

Transferred on 28 May 1982 to our country, the men were then "detained," under conditions clearly stated in the texts, in Zug.

Several conclusions, which are in truth complicated, may be drawn from this process.

First of all, the Soviet prisoner of war had to agree to internement, which, in short, provided for them to be repatriated to the country of their residence. In ordinary times, prisoners of war, whether they are imprisoned or interned, ask nothing better than to go home. And the article cited above is properly in place to guarantee that they can. There is nothing in the texts to indicate, on the other hand, that such a return is compulsory. At least that is the interpretation of the jurists of the Confederation and the CICR. They add that the humanitarian spirit commands that prisoners be allowed the possibility of not returning to their own country. "This is even a tradition with us," adds the Committee's spokesman, Michele Mercier.

Did the prisoners then mistakenly believe that to acquiesce in their internement would carry with it, *ipso facto*, forced repatriation to the USSR? It is possible. And it is certainly what one of them, Yuri Vachtchenko, who escaped from Zugerberg last July, said in an interview with our fellow newspaper, *HEBDO*, from Fribourg-en-Brisgau.

The Soviet authorities may also have understood it that way and expected their men to be restored to them automatically when they had served their sentences. It is not at all inconceivable that Moscow is putting pressure in that direction on the CICR and the Confederation.

<sup>\*</sup>HEBDO No 9, 1 March 1984.

In the second place Switzerland feels it has been given a mandate in the vast liturgy of international law. That is to say it believes its position as ~~more~~ executant constrains it, whether or not that is what it desires, to an extreme neutrality. Hence the guards' refusal, for example, to give the prisoners ~~and~~ Soviet works in Russian (of which, here again, Yuri Vachtchenko complains). It is also this necessary neutrality that led the federal authorities to show ~~less~~ moderation by asking the prisoners, through the CICR, to hold on and wait and see whether or not they would go home? It is quite possible, even though ~~we~~ are solely dependent here on Vachtchenko's testimony; the CICR delegates who spoke with him without witnesses, are obviously bound to silence.

### Two Facts are Spreading Trouble

Two of the facts described above are poisoning the debate: on the one hand, the escape last 8 July of Yuri Vachtchenko, who gave his guards the slip while ~~out~~ for a walk. His frantic flight to Germany gave the public the impression, ~~not~~ only that he had been subjected to an extremely harsh internement by the Swiss, but that the seven remaining Russians were going to be prevented from "choosing freedom."

On the other hand, the Swiss media were not slow to recall a precedent that is painful for us to remember: the repatriation to their own country of 7,000 Soviets interned in Switzerland during the last war, an internement that was difficult and sprinkled with violent incidents. Returning to their country at the end of the conflict, these men were then sent to concentration camps (or the other hand some others, Caucasians for the most part, managed not to be sent back to the USSR). The affair, which was the subject of a study by Col Daniel Reichel\* and taken up by the daily press, nevertheless aroused ~~some~~ suspicion. Redoubled suspicion: one of our colleagues, Roger de Diesbach (TRIBUNE DE LAUSANNE-LE MATIN), was refused permission to consult the federal archives on this subject. Now the malaise of those prisoners of war was sure to occur again among those in Zugerberg.

Finally, another suspicion: that the CICR had for months shown itself to be very prudent in order to preserve its chances of returning to Khabul, from where it has not been able to work for over 2 years. On that subject they are definite at the Avenue de la Paix: it is out of the question. That having been said, there is no doubt that the Red Cross may have hoped that this difficult internement operation would serve as a prelude to its resuming its activities in Afghanistan.

### A Gap

A word in conclusion: in this whole affair we are witnessing a clear gap between the law-of-war operation that is internement, and the sensitivity of the Swiss public, which believed it saw in the internement measures a denial of human rights; they were comparing, no doubt mistakenly, these prisoners to ~~the~~ refugees, and forgetting that between the "prisons" of the Afghan guerrillas which are entirely clandestine--and the security of internement in central Switzerland, there is, for all that, a difference that even the Russian prisoners themselves acknowledge!

\*"The Internement and Repatriation of Soviet Soldiers Who Took Refuge in Switzerland During the Second World War", in "Transactions of the 1982 Conference of the University of Education and Research, Verte Rives, Pully, 1982.

## NOTHOMB ON BUDGETARY PROBLEMS, COMMUNITY QUARRELS

Brussels LA LIBRE BELGIQUE in French 5 Mar 84 p 3

[Interview with Charles-Ferdinand Nothomb, French-speaking vice prime minister, by A.M.; time and location of interview not specified]

[Text] After Vice Prime Minister Jean Gol's interview, it is the turn of the other French speaking vice prime minister, Charles-Ferdinand Nothomb, to reply to our questions concerning the political situation.

[Question] So budgetary control is now in full operation. After the jolts of the last few weeks, does the government team still have enough cohesion to properly conduct such a difficult exercise--especially so close to the 17 June European election?

[Answer] Although the government has accomplished great things up to now, although it has put behind it a series of extremely thorny matters, unfortunately it has so far not been as successful as it would have liked--in spite of the measures that have been taken--in limiting the net balance to be financed.

We don't want to run future generations farther into debt. Therefore, new measures must be considered.

The operation that is currently concerned with the budgetary plan implies confidence between partners. I believe this confidence exists. The will to succeed and to go all the way with the legislature also exists, it seems to me.

Pessimists have been saying for weeks that the government is going to fall. I say, however, that it has succeeded in leaping over all obstacles. Difficult obstacles, because they were sometimes heavy and complex and sometimes light and impassioned. I think I contributed to the solutions that were found.

[Question] What is the budgetary philosophy that drives you, you and the Social Christian ministers?

[Answer] We are certainly determined to make a success of the budgetary operation.

However, Belgium shouldn't be looked at solely on the basis of its bookkeeping aspects. Not only is Belgium a society that gives an accounting every year; it is also a community of persons, and hope must be given to the men and women of whom it is made up. When we engage in the budgetary round it is not only to line up the figures, but it is also to see if there isn't a series of changes to be made in order to improve the figures and also, in the difficult financial period we are going through, to improve the society's dynamism and internal justice.

To realize these objectives there has to be a plan that is applicable for several years and we must, as Mr Maystadt has suggested, act on the economy.

[Question] So much for general philosophy. But what is your attitude on a concrete plan for the present?

[Answer] In any case, we have to realize the objective we set for ourselves when the 1984 budget was drawn up. So there is about 50 billion to be found.

I am in favor of the prime minister's proposal that a stabilization plan be set up, to be applicable for a number of years.

I go farther than Mr Gol. In my opinion there is already something to do, under this plan, beginning this year. We have to have a little more ambition.

[Question] No new taxes?

[Answer] We don't want to increase the burden of taxes and related items altogether, but we are prepared to make adjustments that would serve both to provide better productivity and ensure better protection for the impoverished. We should also be thinking about not discouraging work-related income so much, by indexing the tax scales, if that's possible.

[Question] And concerning "fiscal expenditures," which are generally called "gifts for businesses"?

[Answer] One of the government's objectives is to return dynamism to businesses. We have made considerable effort in that direction. That effort must be maintained, but perhaps improved for the benefit of businesses that really are investing and creating jobs.

Another Look at Some Mechanisms

[Question] And what do you propose for the adjustments?

[Answer] I'll give you a general answer. I don't believe in the mere savings measures that would consist of lowering certain expenditure categories by 1 percent, 2 percent, 3 percent. That's just a blind mechanism for shaving expenditures.

For my part, I believe we have to look at a number of useful things that we set up in the past, when we had the means to do it, and maybe change those. We must always pursue the same objectives, but perhaps change certain mechanisms that are no longer adapted to our means. This is more effective than to say you are

going to reduce some subsidy or other, or some allowance. So you have to show imagination, but prudently.

I think, for example, that the choice between certain expenditures and certain services to be charged to the community, would be better arbitrated at a level closer to the citizens, for example at the provincial and communal level. In a period of bad times one has to get used to the idea that certain delicate choices are more adequately made at the local or bottom level than on the basis of general rules.

On the subject of security, all I had was the sum of 400 million at my disposal. I said to each governor, you have so much money; give me a suggestion for a plan that seems the most useful to you. I believe I allocated the security money better that way. I made economies and responded better to each province's realities.

Interior of Political Honor

[question] Let's leave budgetary problems and approach the new community tendencies. In his interview with us on Friday, Mr Gol recommended that a limited-time "community pact" be concluded, which alone could enable the government to be safe from a possible decree by the Council of State, aimed at French public representatives from special-status communes. Mr Gol even talked about potential new legislative standards to be enacted. What is your position on that subject?

[answer] I lined my feelings on that subject in a 43-page note that made it possible to get out of the impasse created by the request for emergency examination in connection with the Galle proposal.

It is obvious that one way or the other we are going to see to it that I am able, at the same time, to protect the regularly elected public representatives and respect the law and respect the public peace, and to enforce observance of the obligation of all ministers to respect the constitution, the laws and the decisions of the Council of State.

The government's policy and the interior minister's concrete attitudes must be based on safeguarding that dual objective. For myself, I have made it a matter of political honor.

[question] You don't seem to be going as far as Mr Gol; you are less precise, perhaps. You don't talk about changing the law.

[answer] I am the interior minister and I have an obligation as a consequence. I have to reconcile the two objectives defined higher up. I will take the necessary means to do that. There are those who give in and shake their fist and there are those who resist and offer their hand.

[question] Will that depend on you alone?

[answer] It's my duty to the coalition and to Belgium, and it's a duty of the government, if it wants to survive. I must emphasize that I have always been guided in my attitudes by the government, in spite of outside protests.

[Question] Forgive me for insisting, but in his interview Mr Gol seems to be saying that he isn't ready to start on budgetary matters unless there are community guarantees from the beginning.

[Answer] I don't believe in community high masses. The government's ministers, whatever their party, have no desire other than to maintain community peace with equity.

It is true, however, that those who thought the 1980 reforms were going to fix everything were wrong. That doesn't mean that an institutional clearing out has to be started all over again in one way or another. What is necessary is to make the present system viable, chiefly via a policy of reconversion in partnership with the regions, and greater decentralization toward the provinces and communes.

The system needs to be made to function properly and not be allowed to be taken over by a Dehousse who, instead of playing the game in his own jurisdiction, is being used by regionalization to attack the central government.

#### Twinning

[Question] It's been less talked about in the last few days, but the hypothesis of a "twinning" of the European and legislative elections has not yet been abandoned.

[Answer] I have said from the first day that it would be a serious mistake, because that prospect would annihilate all of the government's ability to act in the early part of 1984. I am happy to find that the four coalition parties, acting together, are turning down the twinning hypothesis.

#### "Orange Juice"

[Question] Mr Gol said in his interview--without otherwise going into detail--that the elections would undoubtedly result in a "different coalition" being formed. Are the grand pledges of loyalty between Social Christians and Liberals in a bad way?

[Answer] That statement amazes me. I'll speak to Mr Gol about it at the first opportunity. In any case, as far as we are concerned the position is clear: we intend to continue with the same coalition if the voters give us the mandate.

Since the Socialists have placed themselves completely offside by their positions on community matters--it isn't by chance that the community agitation is centered around the Galle-Happart pair, both of whom are Socialists--, we have to push farther and better among Social Christians and Liberals.

I hope that between those two organizations there will be one common policy in the government.

Gerard Deprez has spoken of bipolarization between the PSC [Christian Social Party] and the PRL [Liberal Reform Party]. It's true that each of us has his preoccupations. For my part, I will say that inside the government there are two poles that must compete effectively in a spirit of emulation. Emulation is a positive thing.

In his interview, Mr Gol compares the PSC to a kind of "orange juice" that is sometimes combined with Campari and sometimes with vodka, with no great effect on the flavor of the cocktails in the final analysis.

Since I am against alcohol, I believe that neither Campari nor vodka is good. For that reason, the more orange juice there is, the better for the health. In any case, all Campari or all vodka, it's undrinkable.

Since 1974 the Social Christians have governed as much with Socialists as with Liberals, and one can't say that the latter displayed any more austerity. The truth is that history has shown that no government is possible without Social Christians. We are proud of them. We are in power, not in defiance of the will of the voters, but because Belgium's stability and its evolutionary process are linked with the equilibrium we contribute in the coalitions. So, today, would the government be able to conduct its present policy in relative social peace and protect the most impoverished, without the Social Christians' participation in the government? I don't think so.

I'll say again that I didn't appreciate Mr Gol's rude remarks about the chairman of my party. I would like all of that to stop. As for me, I have never said anything bad about Louis Michel, except when he got lost in searching for a consensus with the Socialists.

#### Education Problems

[Question] Listening to you, one gets the impression that everything is getting better in Martens V.

[Answer] It's true that I find the ambience in the government quite good. Much better than with the Social Christians, in any case. Although there is some risk of tension, especially in the course of this budgetary exercise, it is no doubt in the area of education that tension is to be found. It is obviously necessary to take into account the budgetary performances of every type of education and make every effort, while observing the school pact, to put together the per-pupil cost of teaching, whatever the system, that makes it possible to maintain quality for the lowest cost.

I find, on the other hand, that because of the Socialists the basic reorganization of education is blocked. To the PSC, freedom of education means the right of families to select a school of their choice, and the right of freely-organizing governments, provincial or communal, to "characterize" their teaching or not.

#### Written in the Stars?

[Question] In your last interview you stated that "the coming rapprochement of the PSC-CVP [Social Christian Party (Walloon) and Social Christian Party (Flemish)] was written in the stars." Is this still your opinion today, after all these new community polemics?

[Answer] The community ups and downs have taken away neither my basic position nor my good humor. They do show me, however, that Belgium remains what it used to be, with community emotions that are occasionally strong, but a great fundamental good sense that protects the essential thing when it is in peril.

I persist in believing that beyond the ups and downs there is a profound Social-Christian reality in the country, and that our ambition must be to express it as well as possible in the government and in fighting the crisis.

When the storm was approaching, I invited Mr Martens to a meeting in Bastogne, at which he defended very well the Social Christian ideals in government, and at which he was very well received by 800 Walloons from Luxembourg, who were no less Walloon than the others, but who devote themselves to aiding those who are trying very hard to maintain Belgium and straighten her out.

8946

CSO: 3619/50

## BRIEFS

CGT WORRIES AEROSPATIALE EMPLOYEES--After the recent departure of Mr Legrand from the management of Aerospatiale-Marignane, many employees of that corporation are wondering whether the General Confederation of Labor (CGT) may not believe the moment has come to launch a campaign to try to regain a footing in what has become a bastion of reformist trade unionism. Ever since Gen Jacques Mitterrand has no longer been in charge of chairman of the board of the National Industrial Aerospace Company, a degree of uneasiness has been evident in the various installations in regard to their social benefits future. The general opinion is that if the government encourages the belief that it is prepared to tolerate, or even encourage, a "revenge" strategy by the CGT, the consequences could be very serious, from a strictly economic point of view. Up against strong American competition, the helicopter division, for example, would see its competitiveness destroyed if its social benefit arrangements were upset. Certain foreign customers have been persistently inquiring about the intentions of Aerospatiale in this matter. [Text] [Paris AUTRES MONDES in French 16 Jan 84 p 15] 9920

CSO: 3519/263

## FOREIGN DEBT BLAMED FOR DROP IN REAL INCOMES

Reykjavik MORGUNBLADID in Icelandic 15 Mar 84 p 24

[Editorial: "Savings"]

[Text] The foreign credit burden, which was 13.7 percent of the nation's export revenue in 1977, is now 22-24 percent. Almost one-fourth of the export revenue goes toward this credit obligation--and does not enter into the national economy at all. This credit burden, along with a 12 percent decrease in the national income in 1981-1983, is the main reason for the wage reductions in the country.

A review of the budget calculations shows that the foreseeable deficit in 1984 will be considerably greater than the budget anticipated without any further reduction in state expenditures. There are only three possibilities in this situation:

- 1) Increased taxation which already is too big in proportion to the national income;
- 2) Savings from reducing expenditures;
- 3) Increased debt which already is excessive.

Arni Arnason, executive director of the Chamber of Commerce, discusses this matter in an article in MORGUNBLADID yesterday: "Let's Opt for Savings." He maintains that "a relatively large part of state expenditures is doubtful if the welfare of the community is used as a guiding light." He mentions various items from the budget calculations which in his judgment could be justifiably reduced during hard times: support to associations; support to institutions; support to industries; any kind of equalization support and contributions to companies. "The total amount of this support is 3.2 billion kronur," says Arnason, and "there is considerable room for cutbacks within this framework."

Arnason says in this article word for word:

"On the other hand, those politicians who are in favor of savings have avoided mentioning where to save. The explanation is that those who gain

by the savings, the majority of the people, have unclear conception of their gain whereas those who lose extra income on the side and support have very clear ideas of what they will lose. Politicians who want to take a responsible position therefore risk creating much unpopularity..."

There will probably be a difference of opinion about many of the author's savings ideas. But it cannot be avoided when push comes to shove and the national income is reduced, as now has happened, that the state must reduce expenditures just as the common citizen who in turn must pay the final treasury debt in one form or another.

9583

CSO: 3626/19

## PAPER COMMENTS ON INFLATION FIGHT, WAGE TALKS

Reykjavik MORGUNBLADID in Icelandic 16 Mar 84 p 20

[Editorial: "Inflation, National Income and Wage Affairs"]

[Text] Inflation in the country is now less than one-tenth of the National Economic Institute's forecast of last May which was based on the system of alternating fluctuations in wages and prices remaining unchanged. Interest rates, which were overburdening both industries and house builders, have decreased correspondingly. Prices in general, which rose from day to day during the first part of the year, have been stable for months. Lowering of prices of some goods now happens, something that was out of the question before, to say the least. Inflation, which was a stimulus for spending, has decreased to such an extent that people now consider economic ways to save. The foreign trade deficit that used to be great has now almost disappeared. The goal is not to increase foreign debt in 1984, which amounted to 60 percent of the national product at the end of 1983. The foreign debt credit burden absorbs one-fourth of the nation's export revenue.

At this time last year, very few people believed that such great results would be viable 1 year later. Despite difficulties that have limited the nation's standard of living, the most prominent examples of which are the 12 percent decrease in the national income in 3 years and the reduction in the cod catch by half since 1981, spring is in the air if the nation proceeds with care, especially in monetary and wage affairs.

The wage increases we are now faced with are somewhat greater than the government's economic goals called for, that is, 6.5-7.0 percent on the average for the year instead of 4 percent. And the cost of this difference is that the lowering of the inflation will be much slower than planned--and the risk of trade deficit and accumulation of consumption debts will increase. Chairman of the Althing Appropriations Committee Larus Jonsson commented on this point in an article in MORGUNBLADID last Wednesday:

"Based on the prerequisite for the budget and credit budget, the aim was to get the inflation within 10 percent at the end of the current year and balance foreign trade. This was based on wage increases not exceeding 4 percent on the average during the year. It is obvious that it will be more difficult

to reach these objectives after the collective bargaining. The wage increase will be between 6.5-7.0 percent. It can be expected that the inflation could be between 15-20 percent although the National Economic Institute forecasts a smaller rate of inflation and some foreign trade deficit. The bottom line is whether the wage increase beyond the prerequisite of the official policy in wage, price and foreign exchange matters has been worth it."

Parties in the labor market have by contracts agreed to risk--to an extent-- price decrease results and side profits from lowered interest rates, more stability in foreign exchange and pricing, balance of foreign trade and the stopping of foreign debt accumulation. The economic results are jeopardized somewhat with the contract. When the national income decreases by 12-14 percent in 1982-1984, there are few examples of so much decrease in recent decades, there is hardly any basis for wage increases. We should, however, not stray too far off course if responsible forces succeed in keeping the ship of state no further away from the charted course. On the other hand, the break must be put firmly on state expenditures and any potential expansion in monetary affairs.

But the crux of the matter is to create conditions for growth in the nation's economic life, as well as for forming new support for employment and economic security, in order to increase the national income which in fact decides the standard of living in the country whatever contracts are entered into.

9583  
CSO: 3626/19

## RECORD TRADE SURPLUS FOR 1983 CITED

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 22 Mar 84 p 36

[Text] The Norwegian foreign-trade surplus for 1983 was 17.3 billion kroner. This new record is apparent from new figures from the Central Statistical Bureau. According to the earlier estimate, the surplus amounted to 14.4 billion kroner. In 1982, the surplus in the account indicating profit or loss in foreign trade amounted to 4.2 billion kroner.

The surplus produced in the exporting of goods and services amounted to 32.6 billion kroner, which is an increase of 60 percent over 1982. On the other hand, the interest and assistance deficit showed a very slight increase from 16.2 billion kroner in 1982 to 16.3 billion kroner in 1983. A sharp increase in income from the exporting of oil (19.3 percent), favorable developments in the exporting of traditional commodities, and a modest increase in imports are important factors behind the sharp improvement in Norway's foreign trade status. The value of exported oil and gas came up to 63.8 billion kroner. In addition, there were pipeline services valued at 2.9 billion kroner. Thus, exports in the oil sector of the economy amounted to 36 percent of Norway's total exports of goods and services. The exportation of traditional Norwegian commodities rose to 13.9 percent, increasing to 60.9 billion kroner worth in 1983.

The total value of goods and services imported increased by 5.4 percent and amounted to 152.6 billion kroner. The importation of traditional commodities was approximately unchanged where value was concerned, and it amounted to 91.8 billion kroner worth. On the other hand, the importation of other services, including tourist trips abroad by Norwegians, showed an increase of a full 24.7 percent to 30.2 billion kroner worth.

Gross income from shipping and oil drilling went up by 3.4 percent to 32.3 billion kroner. The shipping industry's expenditures abroad increased by 2.5 percent and amounted to 20.4 billion kroner. Consequently, that sector's contribution to the Norwegian foreign-trade surplus increased from 11.3 billion to 11.9 billion kroner.

Norway's net indebtedness abroad went down by 8 billion kroner in 1983. The foreign trade profit-or-lose surplus was offset by a net outlay of short-term capital amounting to 5 billion kroner and of long-term capital amounting to 11.3 billion kroner. Total reserves at the end of 1983 amounted to 39.4 billion kroner, which is 340 million kroner less than a year earlier.

The last time the Norwegian foreign-trade surplus set a record was in 1981, when the foreign trade profit-or-loss surplus came to 12.5 billion kroner.

9266  
CSO: 3639/94

## REPORT RECOMMENDS ECONOMIC POLICY CHANGES FOR GOVERNMENT

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 18 Mar 84 p 6

[Text] Major changes in economic policy are needed to achieve such goals as full employment, a stable currency, a high rate of growth, and an equalization of living standards. That is the conclusion drawn in the 1984 Long-Term Survey, which will be published on Monday.

The Long-Term Survey uses 1990 as its target year, but it also includes a brief so-called progress analysis through 1987 and a more lengthy general survey of the years through the end of the century. The report, which is the work of a commission made up of civil servants, will be circulated for comment this spring, after which the government can take a stand if it wishes.

Six years are considered sufficient for achieving the goals established by the government in this year's budget statement, provided that an energetic economic policy is pursued.

The good years of the 1950's and 1960's are not going to come back, but the members of the commission nevertheless believe that favorable development is possible. We can achieve the growth figures of the 1970's, according to department head Svante Oberg, the commission's coordinator.

In terms of what is required in the economic policy, the previous Long-Term Survey (1980) was correct in its prediction that prices and wages would have to be lowered in relation to the world around us. The 1980 Long-Term Survey recommended that the rise in spending in the public sector be reduced from 6 or 7 percent annually to 1 or 2 percent.

Oberg says: "We have not reached that goal, but public spending is rising at a slower rate."

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CSO: 3650/152

## BRIEFS

FOREIGN AID INCREASE FINANCING--The government's promise of a 300-million-kronor increase in aid to developing countries is going to be kept. That was promised by Minister of Foreign Affairs Lennart Bodstrom during a press conference at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on Thursday. The money can be obtained by reducing the peacetime emergency petroleum reserves. But living up to the old Social Democratic objective of giving 1 percent of the GNP to developing countries is out of the question. The minister of foreign affairs pointed out, however, that this increase is bringing us close to that goal. But he said he was expecting more criticism for not coming up with the entire sum of about 450 million kronor, which is what would be needed to reach the 1-percent mark. The government has been sharply criticized from within the Social Democratic Party's own ranks and by youth associations, women's associations, and the World Brotherhood. Bodstrom was careful to emphasize that the government does not intend to reduce the wartime petroleum reserves. The reduction will affect only the petroleum reserves set aside for peacetime use, and this is fully justified, since petroleum consumption has declined. [Text] [Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 16 Mar 84 p 6] 11798

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## OIL, GAS PRODUCTION INCREASING OVER LAST YEAR'S PACE

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 22 Mar 84 p 35

[Text] The combined production of oil and gas on the Norwegian continental shelf in the first two months of 1984 amounted to 10.7 million tons of oil equivalent. That is 17.6 percent more than in the same period in 1982, according to the figures provided by the Oil Directorate.

Oil production amounted to 5,597 million tons, while gas production came to 5,150 million tons.

Total Norwegian oil production in February averaged about 700,000 barrels per day. The Norwegian share of Statfjord production was approximately 325,000 barrels per day, while Ekofisk produced 273,800 barrels per day. The Valhall field, which has had problems, has now gotten up to a production of 52,100 barrels per day.

Since the division of the reserves in the Murchison field was changed, the Norwegian share of that field's oil production has reached approximately 53,000 barrels per day. The Norwegian share in the ownership of the field has increased to 25 percent, but in 1984 the Norwegian co-owners of the field will get 45 percent of the production to compensate them for the fact that they previously got a share that was too low.

Gas production at Ekofisk reached 1.1 billion cubic meters in February, while 1.4 billion cubic meters of gas were delivered from the northern part of the Frigg field and from Nordost-Frigg in that month. In February, 41 million cubic meters of gas from Valhall were sold, while the total Norwegian share of gas deliveries from Murchison amounted to 9.5 million cubic meters.

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CSO: 3639/94

## GOVERNMENT APPOINTS NEW STATOIL LEADERSHIP

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 23 Mar 84 p 3

[Article by Einar Solvoll: "Finn Lied No Longer With Statoil's Management"]

[Text] The top leadership in the management of Statoil will be replaced today. Former Minister of Industry Finn Lind, who has been the chairman of the board of directors for 10 years, is retiring, and his place is being taken by Professor Inge Johansen, the president of the Norwegian Technical University (NTH) in Trondheim. Vidkunn Hveding, the former minister of oil and energy, will be the deputy chairman.

Undersecretary Arild Rodland of the Oil and Energy Department has confirmed to AFTENPOSTEN that the government has decided to move Finn Lied out, but he did not want to comment on the situation any further before the government, through the Council of Ministers, arrives at a formal decision to do so today.

However, it is certain that the government wants to expand Statoil's management from five to six people and the former Oil and Energy Minister Vidkunn Hveding will get into the board of directors in that way. Finn Lied will be replaced by Kare Ellingsgard, a fylke town official in Morn and Romsdal, but not as chairman. The chairman will be the president of the Norwegian Technical University in Trondheim, Ingen Johansen.

Johansen is 56 years of age and has been a professor since 1959 and the president of the NTH since 1976. He formerly was the supervisor of Undersecretary Arild Rodland, who also came from the NTH and is said to have had some experience in the Christian People's Party. Professor Johansen is a blank page politically, but he is well known in the business world from the many positions of honor he has held in past years, and he has also been intensively occupied in research work.

According to what AFTENPOSTEN has learned, the Oil and Energy Department was not prepared for a realignment of Statoil's top management at the present time, but after the matter had been discussed on the government level, this was the result. The decisive factor was the fact that Finn Lied had been the chairman of the board for 10 years and now has reached the age of 67. The government thought that that might be a suitable time for a change to be made. The Willoch government extended Finn Lied's allotted time in office two years ago, but now he will retire on 1 April 1984.

Of critical importance in the government's assessment of the situation was the fact that now may be the time for a political change in Statoil's management since the Labor Party has had both the chairman of the board and the director for many years. Finn Lied himself says that he did not know of the coming change and had not been consulted in connection with it. Therefore the government's decision comes as a surprise to him.

The present deputy chairman, Fredrik Thoresen, will not hold that position any longer, but he will continue to be a member of the board of directors.

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CSO: 3639/94

## ENVIRONMENT MINISTER EXPECTS PACT WITH USSR ON ACID RAIN

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 28 Mar 84 p 20

[Article by Mikko Eronen]

[Text] Moscow—Acid rain will be brought under control through Finnish-Soviet cooperation. They plan to have a cooperative agreement between the two countries on environmental protection ready to be signed next year.

Environment Minister Matti Ahde (Social Democrat) engaged in the latest negotiations on environmental affairs with Yuriy Israel', the head of the State Committee for Environmental Protection, on Monday and Tuesday in Moscow. After this, the preparation of the agreement will continue at the level of government officials and they intend to sign it next year in Helsinki.

On Tuesday Ahde said that the agreement would cover air protection, waste problems, protection of the original natural environment and joint affairs pertaining to the protection of bodies of water.

During the discussions in Moscow they separately agreed that they would reduce industrial sulphur discharges into the air by 30 percent in the Soviet Union and Finland over the next 10 years. Most of the acid rain is in fact carried into Finland's airspace from the Soviet Union, in addition, of course, to Finland's own sulphur discharges.

On Tuesday chairman Israel' especially emphasized the acute importance of research on acid rain. He also said that they had discussed joint investigation of pollution problems involving specific areas in the Gulf of Finland and the Baltic, among others, with Ahde.

In terms of the subject matter of the agreement, which is now moving into its preliminary phase, one objective is to also coordinate and centralize cooperation because, especially in the Soviet Union, environmental protection affairs are often under the jurisdictions of different officials. So the agreement will also include areas other than affairs falling within the jurisdictions of the State Committee for Environmental Protection and Finland's Ministry of Environment.

In the Soviet Union, among other things, industrial hazardous waste is the responsibility of the State Committee for Science and Technology and in Finland many water protection affairs are under the jurisdiction of the Water Administration.

Minister Ahde will be visiting the Soviet Union for the whole week. From Moscow he continued his trip to Armenia and his trip home at the end of the week will be via Tallinn.

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CSO: 3617/129

## BIOLOGIST WARNS OF EFFECTS OF FOREST CLEAR-CUTTING

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 16 Mar 84 p 2

[Article by Torvald Jacobsson, chairman of the Association of Field Biologists]

[Text] Many people are surely confused by the fact that the Forest Service is building logging roads in the unique Sjaunja wilderness area only a few weeks after it promised to stop clear-cutting in forests near the mountains. Unfortunately, that is only one example of how the Forest Service deliberately deceives the public.

The Forest Service's so-called ban is in fact nothing but a bluff. It is uncanny to see how successful that bluff has been in the mass media. Many people now seem to think that the machines have stopped--that the forests near the mountains have been given a respite. But in fact, all the clear-cutting that began this winter in areas above the reforestation line is going to be completed as planned.

The only thing the Forest Service has "banned" is the final clear-cutting that is not planned until August 1984. Clear-cutting of older trees in stratified stands--which are often unlucky from the standpoint of nature conservation--was not included at all. Moreover, the "ban" applies only to forests above the reforestation line--areas such as Sjaunja are not included.

According to Director General Bo Hedstrom, the reason why the Forest Service ordered its ban was that scientists were uncertain as to the reforestation possibilities in forests above the reforestation line. So the only reason for the measures was the problem concerning reforestation--not a concern for nature!

The more one reads about the "fake ban," the more the suspicion grows that it actually came about for another reason altogether: it was intended to calm irritated public opinion. And the Forest Service achieved its goal: public opinion has indeed calmed down. At the same time, the Forest Service is showing in practice that it is prepared to continue as before as soon as the storm has abated.

The criticism directed at the Forest Service by an all-but unanimous ecology movement is like water running off a duck's back.

It is therefore scarcely surprising that we field biologists, for example, are highly skeptical when we hear the Forest Service and the county forestry boards talk about "respect for nature conservation" at the same time that there is one violation after another of that principle.

Call it a credibility crisis, because that is what it is.

Concerning Sjaunja, which lies below the reforestation line and therefore ought to be susceptible of reforestation, the Forest Service can see no reason to refrain from clear-cutting, even though the area is one of Europe's most valuable wilderness areas and, thanks to its good supply of beard lichen, very important as a source of food for reindeer and therefore important to the local native population.

The debate over forests near the mountains must not turn into a debate centered solely on the question of whether or not it is possible to grow new forest. The debate must be equally concerned with ecological resources.

Nature conservation cannot be restricted to barren and marginal land. On the contrary, natural forests growing on good ground are unusual and therefore especially worth protecting. The fact that it is unacceptable to clear-cut land that cannot be reforested does not mean that it is always right and proper to clear-cut other land.

According to the Forest Service's guidelines, the service is to be operated as a business while also taking into account the interests of nature conservation and the public. In recent years, unfortunately, the Forest Service has been showing more and more clearly a total ignorance of and/or indifference to anything connected with ecological resources.

With its present organization and current guidelines, therefore, the Forest Service cannot be regarded as competent to manage the country's forests in accordance with the nation's interests. But it is not just the Forest Service that should be criticized.

The Forest Service operates on behalf of the government, and the government must therefore assume its share of responsibility for the forest policy that has been pursued.

For that reason, we field biologists present the following demands to Minister of Agriculture Svante Lundkvist:

1. An immediate halt to the undiscriminating subsidies for logging roads in areas near the mountains.
2. A halt to roadbuilding and clear-cutting in Sjaunja and other valuable areas, regardless of whether they are located above or below the reforestation line. This can be done, for example, under paragraph 2 of the Forest Conservation Law.
3. The guidelines governing the Forest Service must be changed. We have seen what happens when irreplaceable ecological resources are managed strictly from

the standpoint of business economics. As the manager of forests belonging to all of us, the Forest Service must take into account interests which conflict with forestry operations. Forests belonging to the Forest Service and constituting highly valuable ecological resources must be transferred to the National Environment Protection Board without compensation being required. The government should not have to buy from itself.

4. Biologists must be employed both in the district forestry offices and by the county forestry boards. They must examine clear-cutting and other forestry measures from the standpoint of nature conservation.

Bo Hedstrom, who was chairman of the Swedish Forestry Association during its Year of the Forest drive, certainly remembers the noble objectives of that drive, which were, among other things:

"To increase confidence in the competence and intentions of forest farmers.

"To establish dialogue concerning those areas in which the interests of the parties involved lead in fact to genuine antagonism."

We field biologists believe that confidence in the competence and intentions of forest farmers can best be increased if the forest farmers prove their competence and, hopefully, their good intentions through their actual conduct. This is an area in which, unfortunately, the Forest Service has failed miserably.

The Association of Field Biologists considers it very desirable to engage in constructive dialogue on forestry. Unfortunately, it is hard to engage in dialogue when one party is busy destroying a large part of what the dialogue is supposed to be about.

We want to engage in dialogue because we believe that in a country with such abundant forests as Sweden, it is possible to satisfy the interests of both forestry and nature conservation in a fairly satisfactory manner.

Bo Hedstrom and the Forest Service do not seem to share that view. From all indications, they are not even bothering to try.

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## PRIME MINISTER PALME ON ACID RAIN, LEGISLATION PLANS

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 16 Mar 84 p 6

[Article by Ake Ekdahl]

[Excerpt] Karlstad, Thursday--The government is working on high environmental control fees and stiff protective laws as a way of halting environmental pollution. That emerged from the keynote speech delivered by Prime Minister Olof Palme at the Karlstad Technical College on Thursday. He was there as part of a 2-day visit to Varmland.

Automobiles, industry, and agriculture have been singled out in particular and can expect stiff sanctions from society if environmental pollution continues.

"It must never become profitable to violate the environmental laws," said Palme, and he drew attention to environmental issues as a perfect example of how important it is for society to have a strong influence in environmental protection matters.

"It is better to have lower agricultural production than to allow this poisoning to continue," said Palme, but he emphasized that he did not want to go into greater detail concerning the changes in agricultural policy being planned by the government or the question of who is going to pay the bill for lower earnings from agriculture.

#### Conflict To Be Avoided

"We do not want conflict with the farmers," Palme added during a press conference following his speech.

He saw an example in the fact that the Varmland forest industry is currently threatening higher unemployment if the rules against spraying are made stricter. Palme felt that such threats were not "acceptable" and hoped that local decisionmaking power in connection with spraying would eventually provide a solution acceptable to Varmland's inhabitants themselves.

During the day, Palme had toured the area surrounding Karlstad and witnessed with his own eyes the death of the forests, which is very alarming at present. He said he was very disturbed by those warning signs.

The government is currently working on a 10-point program to combat the acidification of air, water, and soil. The program will be carried out by a special action group headed by Minister of Agriculture Svante Lundkvist.

The program includes international action, stiff requirements for the purification of matter from coal-fired power plants, the extracting of low-sulfur peat, stricter exhaust controls for automobiles, unleaded gasoline, the reduced use of acid fertilizers in agriculture, a study of forestry operations, the continued treating of polluted lakes with lime, subsidies for nonpolluting energy technologies, and more funds for environmental research.

Palme said that farmers and food producers have a big responsibility in this work.

Stricter environmental protection laws can be expected.

"The Environmental Protection Law is one of our most important pieces of legislation," said Palme, and he emphasized that the law is not at all inimical to technology.

"Only a strong society can ensure good environmental protection."

Palme added that giving market forces a free hand to take care of the environment means accepting pollution as a principle.

"Active environmental policy and a completely free market economy are bound to collide."

Palme also said in his speech that environmental work requires strong commitment by the population if it is to succeed. At the press conference, he admitted that through the years, the environmental movement has been more alert and farsighted in these matters than the politicians. He also said that there are special reasons at present to seize the opportunity to put new life into environmental work now that the problems of acidification are the center of debate.

#### Long History

But environmental work has a long history even within the Social Democratic Party. One of the early prominent figures in that struggle was former Governor Rolf Edberg, who accompanied Palme all day on Thursday. Edberg started the country's only course in the philosophy of ecology, which is taught at Karlstad University. The course deals with the connection between ecology, the perception of society, and the outlook on life. He has written several books on the threat to the environment, and on Thursday, Palme awarded him the government's gold medal of the 12th class.

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